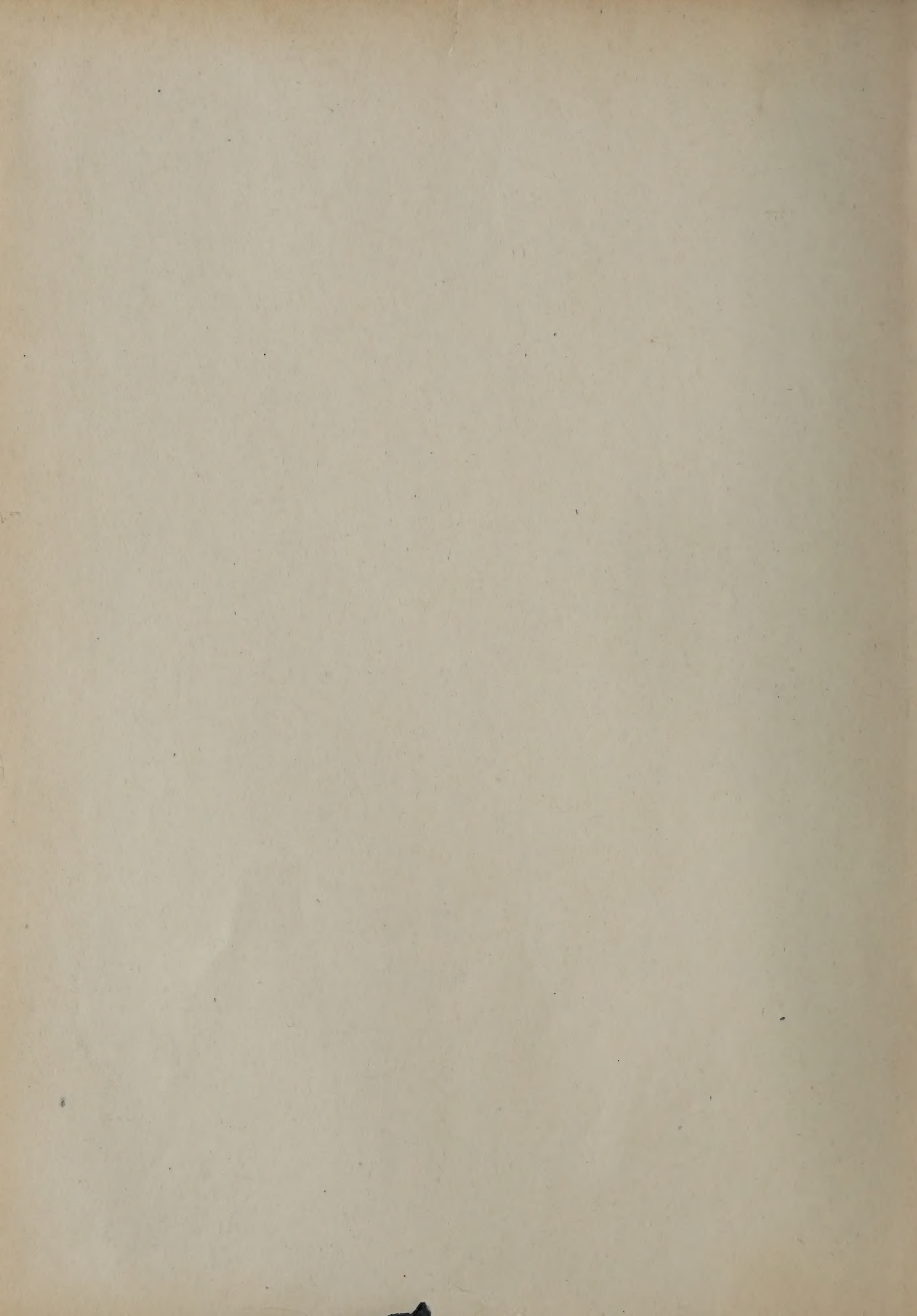
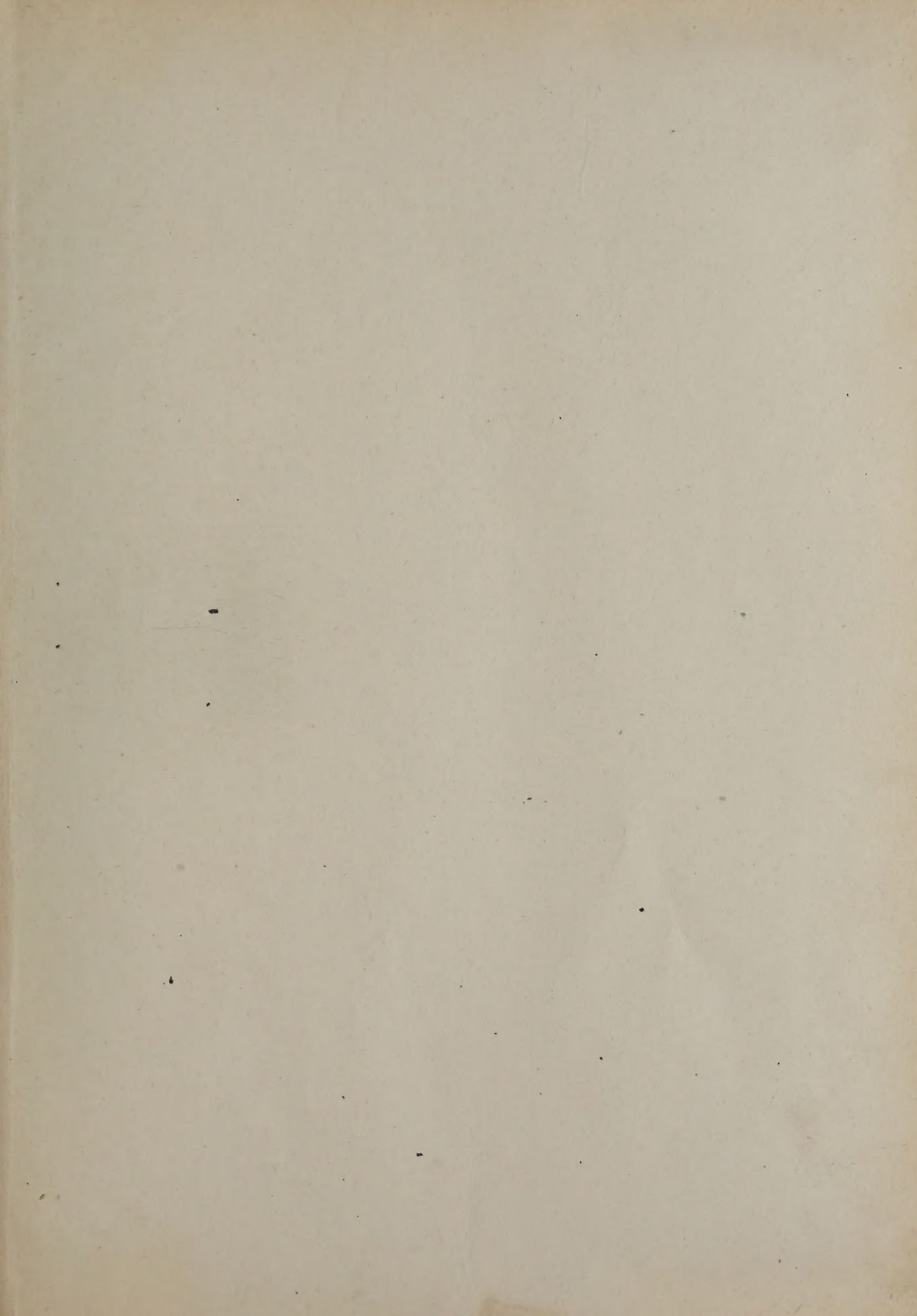


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HANDBOOK OF ARCHITECTURE

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Part II

ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

Volume 8

FRENCH RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE

By Baron Hector von Geymüller

Stuttgart

1898

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Translated by H. Clifford Rickert, D. Arch.

Professor of Architecture

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Urbana, Ill.

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UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
BY DR. HEINRICH GARDNER VON GERTEN
HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AR-
CHITECTURAL STYLE.

"That we may follow fellow-workers with the truth."

John. III. 8.

INTRODUCTION.

I. Survey.

The history of Christian architecture in Europe exhibits three
phases, which are unique of their kind.
1. The origin of the Gothic style in France after 1150.
2. The authentic rise of the Renaissance in Italy soon after
1400.
3. The introduction of the Renaissance into France, the Ger-
man land of the Gothic, just before 1500.
The first mentioned event was completed, when the Northern go-
thics had so far developed themselves, after an endeavor for
seven hundred years to create an architectural expression for
their religious ideal and the spirit peculiar to them, and which
was ready in the Gothic style, that originated in France-Gall-
ia, to transpire into the entire Christian West, where-
by peoples of Germanic derivation had settled in considerable
numbers.
The occurrence mentioned in the second place marks the no less
an impressive moment, when after a thousand years of struggle
against the results of the moral decadence of the Roman empire
and against the separation of the unchristianized northern elements
into Italy, Germany decided to return to Roman architectural
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pression. It was the
first time in the history of the world, that man returned to a
form of culture, that had as good as disappeared for a thousand
years, again awakened it, so that it may be said to have been
reborn under new conditions. Such an event, unique in its way,
well deserves to be termed a rebirth or a renaissance.
The third occurrence, at least equally important as the two
mentioned above, refers to the moment, when after the new Ital-
ian style had become a stranger in the native land for three
generations and had attained

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DIVISION II. ARCHITECTURE OF THE RENAISSANCE IN FRANCE.

By Dr. Heinrich Baron von Geymüller.

A. Historical Description of the Development of the Architectural Style.

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The first mentioned event was completed, when the Northern peoples had so far developed themselves, after an endeavor for seven hundred years to create an architectural expression for their religious ideal and the spirit peculiar to them, and which was ready in the Gothic style, that originated in "Franco-Gallia", to transplant this into the entire Christian West, wherever peoples of Germanic derivation had settled in considerable numbers.

The occurrence mentioned in the second place marks the no less impressive moment, when after a thousand years of struggle against the results of the moral decadence of the Roman empire and against the separation of the unassimilated northern elements in Italy, Tuscany decided to return to Roman architectural forms and to choose these as a mode of expression for their still greatly changed spiritual and material needs. It was the first time in the history of the world, that men returned to a form of culture, that had as good as disappeared for a thousand years, again awakened it, so that it may be said to have been reborn under new conditions. Such an event, unique in its way, well deserves to be termed a rebirth or a renaissance.

The third occurrence, at least equally important as the two mentioned above, refers to the moment, when after the new Italian style had become a stranger in its native land for three generations and had attained full maturity, it now entered upon

its peaceful triumphal march through Europe in a direction, opposed to that pursued by Gothic three hundred years earlier. In this return visit, there is however a moment or an occurrence, that excels the other in importance; it is that of the introduction of the Renaissance into the native land and home of the Gothic itself, into France.

Concerning the impossibility of finding a better designation for this unique phenomenon of such a range in the history of the world, it is to be regarded as a kind of profanation, or at least a lack of objective understanding, when in recent times French writers in particular apply this name only to the momentary revival of any art period, merely in the sense of the English word "revival", or instead of the word "awakening". Not a profanation, however fundamentally wrong, when these authors designate the origin of the Gothic style in France as the "Renaissance of the 13th century"; for this was the first birth of northern art and not a revival, an event of sufficient magnitude and individuality, that it must not be referred to any precedent.

For all those able to comprehend the high importance of Gothic architecture and of its noble forms in their entire extent, and not merely from a limited, technical and rationalistic point of view, as Viollet-le-Duc did, there lies for them in the introduction of Italian architecture into France something, like a strongly effective utterance of the Divine leader of the world, whose full importance and consequences well deserve investigation. To study the fate of the "French Renaissance", produced by the combination of the French Gothic and of the Italian Renaissance, and of its different phases or styles, is the purpose of the present volume.

2. Limits and Aim of the Investigation.

Every history of architecture, that takes as its aim to give the complete portrayal of an architectural style, and not according to frequently deceptive illustrations, which we often necessarily derive merely from the still existing monuments, but in accordance with the actual course of development, must explore and consider four fields, that may be said to be separated today, for a just decision concerning the absolute or merely relative worth of this style in comparison with those architec-

architectural styles, which bloomed earlier or at the same time in adjacent countries.

1. The architectural monuments still remaining.
2. The architectural monuments that have disappeared.
3. The epoch-making, yet unexecuted projects.
4. The historical statements concerning the monuments and their builders.

Only in this way can we hope to attain to a really faithful description of that architectural style as a whole, to comprehend the connection of its principal elements, to explain the occurrence of eccentricities, and to more closely enter upon the mode of development of that epoch of civilization, the world of thought, in which its ideals soared, and which it aspired to realize.

It should be assumed, that the practical utility of a history of the architectural style produced in such a manner would be much greater, since it may then be hoped to succeed, more by reason of the vital principles, which are innate in, and aid in the development of every architectural style, -- figuratively expressed and considered as a kind of organic and ideal existence. But the vital principles of the architectural style are exactly those, which would always have an invigorating and blessed effect on the study of architecture, if they were only better known.

Unfortunately, one may assert that it is already sufficient to state the four given sources or domains, in order to show that this ideal and only true method of writing the history of an architectural style is an impossibility in its full extent, with a sole exception, and this is merely for the reason, that of all drawings composing the second and third of the domains, scarcely anything of the periods of culture preceding the Renaissance now exists, and never can be discovered in suitable form and sufficient abundance.

It is self-evident that in the present volume, not all of the most important architectural works of the Renaissance in France can be mentioned, even merely by name. Just as little may it be expected to give complete monographs upon some described monuments or on the masters mentioned. Neither can a uniform treatment of the existing materials be attempted, because the lim-

limits of the present work and further the present state of historical research on the art monuments of France would not permit of this. Frequently for the buildings mentioned, neither the name of the master concerned nor the date of erection can be given. For a few, even the rare cases, it is attempted to give a more complete description of certain buildings or of prominent masters, written as a kind of monograph. The latter occurs either for the reason of creating thereby as secure a basis as possible for determining the important general data, or because by this means many things can be placed in a better light, that may serve as examples and proofs of the character of the style, of the masters and their art.

If I succeed in stating at least the main tendencies and their essential types in their development, and of clearly describing the aims to which these tendencies were directed, of placing in the proper light the vital endeavors, and the character of the various phases of French architecture during the period from 1500 to 1750, of providing for others a clear and safe basis, and to point out many suitable sources for others, who desire to undertake thorough studies in this domain, -- then shall I have to be contented with these results, as the only ones permissible to me under the conditions to be satisfied.

I have found the standard for my judgement of the worth of the style to be treated herein, of its monuments and of its masters, essentially in my inmost admiration and love for the French Gothic and the Italian Renaissance, as well as in the embodiment of the ideal, which is innate in both these architectural styles. And since these are exactly those two styles of architecture from whose combination has sprung substantially the architecture of the French Renaissance, and likewise also the present architecture of France, so shall I scarcely be exposed to the suspicion, that I am not in a position to be just to the most peculiar nature of French architecture.

It may now be permitted to me to mention a few points, that must naturally cause me some difficulties in the composition of the present volume.

3. Difficulties.

1. In the first place was the determination of that era in the architecture of France, which one may consider as the end

of the Renaissance period there. This question will be treated later in special Articles, and its solution has caused more toil, than a great part of the remaining labor.

2. No less was it a fact, that in opposition to the prevailing and frequently contradictory earlier views regarding the duration of the Renaissance, views concerning its beginning and its actual native land have appeared in quite recent times, that cannot remain unopposed.

3. The two preceding facts, as well as the tendency always becoming more general in France, to apply the designation of "Renaissance" to art periods, whose character in nowise corresponds to the nature of this world phenomenon, -- in brief, the erroneous conception based thereon and derived from many other bases, led to the necessity of determining more accurately, what should be understood by Renaissance.

4. As a special difficulty, it may further be said, that the extent of the period, which I designate on the ground of scientific investigations as belonging to the architecture of the R Renaissance, is not about the same as that frequently assumed by thorough investigators, but indeed stands in entire opposition to that usual in France, both among artists as well as among laymen. The basis of the latter opinions is to be sought in the almost total lack of thorough French studies on the development of all French architecture since the extinction of Gothic.

5. For the lacking general researches on French architecture since the beginning of the 16 th century, I could find also no satisfactory substitute in the meritorious work of Lübke, the *Geschichte der Renaissance in Frankreich* (Stuttgart, 1868; second edition in 1885). Although he continues the Renaissance u until the end of the period of Louis XIII, and thus goes farther than the French usually do, still he stops halfway to the v views to which I have been led, in the midst of the second period of the development of the French Renaissance.

6. Although the problem proposed to me did not exactly require it, I regarded it as a defect in my labors, that I was not in a position to reexamine the sources themselves, that were u used by Leon Palustre. Consequently i should not allow myself to make use of his great work, "La Renaissance en France" (Paris, since 1884), which I had wished, and which one should expect,

-- from the fame enjoyed in many circles by this investigator. the reason for this lies in the fact, that with few exceptions, I was unable to decide how often and where he had found the facts, and how frequently, following the vivacity of his feelings, he had gone beyond the mark.

I lament this the more, since for a series of years, during which our personal intercourse had always been of a friendly character, I could testify myself to the rectitude and vigor of his desire to find out the truth.

There are two tendencies in his endeavors, which especially require caution. The first is his decision on the share of the Italian element in the French Renaissance, that he was inclined to very greatly reduce, because this had not manifested itself exactly in the way, that was formerly naively and erroneously believed in general. A special Article will be devoted to this question. The second tendency Palustre shares with many younger so-called "modern critics". It consists in a too hasty interpretation of later documents, upon which I have also a word to say here. But let me first be permitted to express my vivid sorrow at the unexpected death of Leon Palustre a few months since. It is now to be feared, that his great work will remain unfinished. I think with deep gratitude of the friendly willingness, with which he had permitted me to reproduce as many of the illustrations from his work, as appeared desirable to me. I have limited myself to six, representing buildings of which photographs are not for sale.

7. A further difficulty, that presented itself to me, consisted in the already mentioned overhasty interpretation of the documents, become the fashion in recent times, in the mistrust, which I cherish in relation to the flood of hasty conclusions, that have been deduced by modern criticism from the existing documents or from those still unpublished. In my History of St. Peter's in Rome, I have myself made a sufficiently critical use of the latter, to be well protected in this respect from all suspicion. What is chiefly to be feared in this domain is the interpretation of the documents by investigators, otherwise well-meaning, who either lack the necessary technical architectural training, or who do not have the necessary time, that must be devoted to the solution of such questions. My personal exp-

experiences have taught me, that for the accurate determination of the true meaning of a bill, of a document relating to the building, or of an original drawing etc., ten-fold the time is frequently employed, that such investigators appear to think, or is at their disposal. So long as one does not have entire certainty of having before him all the documents relating to a subject, such documents may lead to such greatly lamentable errors, as almost always appear as the result of more careful examination of the sources, or may be so regarded. It is usually neglected to test on the spot, whether the documents harmonize with the condition and analysis of the monument.

Finally, more recent historical researches in particular only inspect but too frequently the scarcely pardonable defects, that it regards the lack of a name or of a statement in documents, whose incompleteness is fixed, as already a negative fact, as proof that a hitherto traditional statement has been scientifically disproved, thus forming a point of view attained by the "modern criticism". However heartily I greet on the one hand the investigation and use of such and similar sources, just as strongly must I protest against their use as just indicated, which is not in harmony with the dignity of science.

I had already long feared, and especially since Deville's time, that the care emphasized as necessary in the use of the documents was not always taken, that consequently many conclusions had been too hastily assumed in the history of French monuments, and particularly that often mere contractors, discovered by modern criticism, were placed before us as the actual designer of the building. Moreover it appears to me, that in the present state of investigation of the sources, it is now often attempted to consider many of the newly introduced views as completed acquisitions. Since I could in the fewest cases consider the examination of the documents themselves, I was unfortunately not enabled to place equal weight on this very important side of the history of architectural monuments, as in my previous works.

Yet I am inclined to console myself to some degree in this, since I have seen into the byeways where one falls, when he seeks to transplant the method of "great novelty" also into the domain of architectural history. I have repeatedly found, that

views accepted as true thirty or forty years since are more nearly correct, than are many, which it is sought to urge upon us under this name.

Chapter I. Duration and Nature of the French Renaissance.

a. Contradiction of the Conceptions.

4. Diversity of conceptions.

The difference existing between the nature of the architecture of the Renaissance as an Italian national style and that of the nature of the Renaissance as a world style, leads to the necessity, at the beginning of this study of the architecture of the French Renaissance, for seeking and establishing for the architectural style of the Renaissance in general, a correct and sufficiently exact definition. This might apparently be held to be useless, since this style was introduced so much later into France than in Italy, so that the explanatory conception given for the Italian Renaissance in the preceding volume of this Handbook might appear sufficient for all cases. In spite of that, I was compelled to such a definition, since the conceptions in this matter prevailing in France are frequently in direct contradiction with each other, and because they are in great part inadequate, to actually comprise that, which must be regarded as relating to the architecture of the French Renaissance.

If one wishes to decide according to Italian conditions, then must he designate the entire architecture of the Renaissance as that architectural style, which begins with Brunellesco, and in which the works of Borromini and his successors have equal importance for the Renaissance, as do the flamboyant or late Gothic style for the Gothic. On the basis of this opinion, I might permit the architecture of the French Renaissance to the end of the architectural style named after Louis XV, and in the course of my studies, I have ever become more strongly confirmed in this view.

Men are of a different opinion in France itself; the Renaissance is designated on the one hand as the style of Henry II, on the other as the architectural style extending until Henry II, and so forth. In view of this diversity it would not be superfluous, to repeat in the following the conceptions of several prominent French architects and savants, and to plainly prove by these, that the limitation assumed above can be regarded as

correct and sufficient. It likewise corresponds to the discussions in the history of Henri Martin and in the works of other authors, which designate many things in the intellectual realm during the period of Louis XIII and during the 17th century in general as done entirely in the spirit of the Renaissance, and even a certain renewed acceptance of the same in certain questions was described. My conception of the nature and duration of the French Renaissance was subsequently found by me in the study by Caesar Daly mentioned below,² wherein he also refers to the numerous contradictions concerning the matter in question, and he reaches the same conclusions, at which I had arrived independently of Daly and before any knowledge of that study.

Note 2. Theorie de l'Architecture de l'Avenir a propos de la Renaissance Francaise. Rev. Gen. d'Arch. 1869. P. 10.

5. Conceptions of French Authors.

If we now pass to the introduction of the views of various French authors, then at first sight of the domain considered, we shall meet with those inclined to fix the beginning of the Renaissance in France earlier than usual, even in many cases to represent it as something, that either terminated the Gothic, or that even as the fatherless child of a Gothic mother has entered the world alone.

Batissier³ remarks with great brevity in reference to the architectural style, which prevailed in the 16th century, that this period has been named "Renaissance", and that it historically closes the middle ages.

Note 3. Batissier, L. Elements d'Archaeologie Nationale etc. Paris. 1843. p. 116.

In Martin's History of France⁴ it is stated:-- "When after the storms of the civil war, men began anew to practice art, then appeared an entirely new style. A heavy and massive architecture, whose strength and prominence were not conjoined with purity of taste and seldom attained true dignity, characterizes the first period of the age of decay and transition, which succeeded three glorious ages; the Romanesque period, that of the pointed arch, which may justly be termed French, and that of the Renaissance".

Note 4. Martin, H. Histoire de France. Vol. 10. p. 474.

For Lucien Magne,⁵ the Renaissance of architecture in France

begins about the middle of the 15th century, for example with buildings like that of Jacques Coeur at Bourges. One here meets with efforts, which are not exactly those of the preceding period, for a certain symmetry. He adds that in painting, the beginning was yet earlier; under Charles VII in glass staining, in which Magne is particularly skilled, one meets with the endeavor to find a personal likeness.

Note 5. According to a verbal discourse on May 20, 1893.

My honored friend Louis Courajod has taught for a series of years the theory, that the Renaissance originated in the 15th century in Flanders, Northern France and Burgundy, proceeding from the study of nature and realism. But it should not be forgotten here, that he was especially thinking of sculpture. We hold the realism in those countries to be absolutely incapable to create anything different from the conclusion of Gothic art. Northern realism, the deeply meditative invention, the most wonderful restoration of character, would likewise be unable during 2000 years, in that country and with the models offered there by nature, to bring forth the Renaissance, and even giving itself up to it, to create anything different from a "Gothic" art.

A second view considered the Renaissance as properly the transition style from Gothic to the high Renaissance, which is designated in France the style of Henry II; Anthyme-Saint-Paul⁶ calls the style of Francis I preeminently the Renaissance.

Note 6. Planat, P. Encyclopedie de l'Arch. et de la Const.

During the thirties (1830-1840), says Caesar Daly,⁷ by the term Renaissance, artists and studios generally understood the period of Francis I, yet without connecting therewith any philosophical signification.

Note 7. Rev. Gen. de l'Architecture. 1869. p. 10.

According to Rivoalen,⁸ "the French Renaissance was complete and perfected after the dropping Gothic forms and combinations".

Note 8. Planat. p. 568.

For a third group, the Renaissance seems to consist of the first two phases of the first period of development, i.e. of the early Renaissance and the high Renaissance. In speaking of the English Renaissance, Rivoalen⁹ designates the French Renaissance in the following manner.

Note 9. Planat. p. 349.

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"Transition style or first Renaissance, i.e. ornamentation in Italian style on Gothic construction, which appears at the time of the Italian campaigns, to die out with Francis I, and to give place to the perfected Renaissance of Lescot, of Bullant and of Jean Goujon".

A fourth conception extends the French Renaissance pretty much over the entire 16 th century; it understands thereby what will later in this volume be termed the "first period of development". Leonce Reynaud ¹⁰ distinguishes between the following architectural styles.

Note 10. Traite de l'Architecture. Paris. 1850-1858. 1875.

Style of the Renaissance in Italy in the 14 th and 15 th c-s.

Style of the Renaissance in Italy in the 16 th century.

Style of the Renaissance in France in the 16 th century.

Style of the 17 th century.

Style of the 18 th century.

Modern style.

Henri Jemonnier, author of the book mentioned below on the origins of the French art of the 17 th century, ¹¹ said to me:—"The Renaissance in France is the 16 th century. No one would count Henry IV with the Renaissance, just as little in the arts as in literature. Germain Pilon closed it, and Prieur no longer belongs to it." ¹²

Note 11. L'Art Francais au Temps de Richelieu et de Mazarin. Paris. 1893.

Note 12. Verbal lecture on June 1, 1893.

For my honored colleague Anatole de Montaiglon, the architecture of the Renaissance begins with Charles VIII, extends to Charles IX, and in the provinces almost to Henry III. A new architecture commences with Henry IV. ¹³ In sculpture and painting the Renaissance begins with Charles VII.

Note 13. Verbal lecture on May 24. 1893.

According to Leon Palustre, the French Renaissance commences with Charles VIII and extends to the beginning of Henry IV, until the introduction of brickwork with bonded quoins. Yet an earlier example is the tomb in Mans (1473), and we find them in the paintings of Jean Fouquet. He says that the word "Renaissance" is incorrect; it was a transformation, as I have explained elsewhere.

Note 14. Verbal lecture on May 24, 1893. Also see introduction to his Architecture de la Renaissance. Paris. 1892.

Viollet-le-Duc employs the word Renaissance in both senses. For example, he writes:- "The architecture from the 12 th century to the Renaissance," ¹⁵ or :- "From the period of Roman decadence until the Renaissance of the 16 th century", or :- "The Renaissance of the 16 th century", and again; "since the Renaissance, France has vainly endeavored to make itself Italian, German, etc."; he likewise appears to limit it as a historical style to the 16 th century in France. He writes in a different sense:- "Of the present (indeed his own Gothic) and future Renaissance of French architecture - -".

Note 15. Dictionnaire Raisonnee de l'Architecture Francaise etc. Paris. 1858-1868. Preface. pages XIV, V. -- Further the Article Chapiteau. -- Lastly the Preface. pages XII and X.

We now permit some passages to follow, which afford further conclusions concerning the views prevailing in France, and more upon the nature and spirit of the French Renaissance, than on its duration.

According to Adeline,¹⁶ by Renaissance is designated the movement, which in the arts occupied the 15 th and 16 th centuries. As for what concerns the architectural style of the Renaissance, he characterizes it as the return to the ancient columnar orders.

Note 17. Adeline, J. Lextque des Termes d'Art. Paris. 1884.

For the Dictionnaire de l'Academie (7 th edition, 1878), the Renaissance extends from the taking of Constantinople till the middle of the 16 th century. In the Article on "Architecture", no Renaissance style is designated. Littré writes in his Dictionnaire:--
^{17 a}

Note 17 a. Littré. Dict. de la Langue Francaise. Paris. 1863-72.

"As a style, the Renaissance recalls to friends of the beautiful the rise of a new art and a free play of imagination. For the learned, the word signifies the renewal of the study of antiquity; for those learned in the laws, the time when light began to shine into the chaos of our ancient customary laws - -".

Duchesne¹⁸ remarks, that one should be careful to not confuse the Renaissance style with the Rococo style, as frequently happens!

Note 18. Dict. de la Conversation et de la Lecture. Edited by W. Duckett. 2nd edition. Paris. 1851-1858.

The most unexpected understanding is indeed found in Du Clez-
iou ".¹⁹ According to him, everything good and noble in France
comes from the "Gaulish genius", from the "Gaulish laughter",
even also the first "Renaissance" of the Antonines. After the
subjugation of the country by the terrible horde of the Franks,
he compares S. Germain des Pres with the red doorway of Notre
Dame, and he writes of the latter:- "Gaul again appears". Thin-
king thus, he is certainly justified in already considering the
Gothic style as the great French Renaissance of the 13th cent-
ury; yet he writes of Rabelais:- "Here is the Gaul, the true
Gaul"- - "and with him the Renaissance, the true one this time.
What inspiration in all that Renaissance! What superb art is t
this French art of the 16th century? And let no one hereafter
tell us that it is Italian, and boast again to us in this of R
Rome, always Rome".

*Note 19. Cleuziou, H. du. Etude sur l'Histoire de l'Art en
France. Paris. 1881-1883.*

6. Daly's Understanding.

Before we express our own views on the different modes of un-
derstanding it, again permit the introduction of a few passages
from the previously mentioned study of Caesar Daly.

"What does one generally understand by the expression: the a
architecture of the Renaissance?

There are three ways of comprehending the nature and duration
of the Renaissance.

1. It is the antique spirit, which replaced the Gothic spir-
it in the arts. This conception contradicts the nature of the
thing; it was a derivation, not a substitution.

2. It is the style, which prevailed during the reign of Fran-
cis I. This theory only corresponds to an indeterminate esthe-
tic feeling; it leaves without name and without foundation the
historical forms, that followed the style of Francis I. The l
lack of scientific accuracy in the terminology, which designat-
es the transformations of architecture, indicates the lack of
a philosophical understanding of the history of art.

3. The Renaissance style corresponds to the reigns of the V
Valois; with the Bourbons begins a new style. This theory is

based on an incomplete conception of the necessary organic conditions of an architectural style; a difference in taste creates no difference in style.

Of the remaining rare authors, who have written on architecture since the 15 th century, some do not seem to have even surmised, that it would be useful to indicate the limits of the Renaissance style. Others, among which are found really learned men, are of opinion, that the Renaissance terminated with the accession of Louis XIII, and that with that monarch, French architecture adopted a new style.

What reply should be made to those, for whom the Renaissance is merely the style of the reign of Francis I, to the question, what style follows the Renaissance? They state according to the succession; the styles of Henry II, Charles IX, Henry III, Henry IV, Louis XIII and Louis XIV. Then follows the Rococo style, and after this, they return to a designation from the princes or the form of government; styles of Louis XVI and of the Empire. But it is fair to remember, that for Rococo many employ the expression, style of the Regency and then of Louis XV.

It is not to be denied, that for daily and professional use, it must be hard to find a more convenient or more practical designation for the successive phases of the development of an architectural style. And since the profession, like the business world troubles itself little about what it does not use, also continues in this generally convenient system of appellation, by its common acceptance likewise evidences, that in these different phases men even now find the satisfaction of all their requirements, and thereby that in one of the different phases of development of the culture of the Renaissance is yet found, the particular one corresponds to a special tone of one of the phases of the architectural style of the Renaissance.

But there is indeed yet another ground for the choice of this system of appellation, which has perhaps not yet become prominent, and which may further give the victory to the other. It begins just with the infiltration of the Italian element into French architecture, and designates the various phases of this fertilization. When men gave the names of their own kings to the architectural styles produced by the unbroken series of in-

international marriages, this compromise with the foreign elements was given a naturalization flattering to the national feeling; men believed that thereby they made the foreign element more nearly their own.

Daly writes, that in France neither historians, theorists, nor the authors of dictionaries have yet treated from a scientific point of view the question, of what does the nature of an architectural style consist. The extracts given by us will prove, that he was only too correct in this!

b. Estimation of French Conceptions.

7. Causes of Objections.

The great confusion and the important contradictions in a part of the preceding explanations of ideas therefore occur, because that on the one hand men especially concentrate the facts of the Renaissance on that moment, when it appears and enters as a grand event producing novelties, so that it is concentrated on its origin and beginning. But on the other hand, men are inclined to limit the event in a certain sense to the period of strife, to the time in which the Renaissance has to reckon with many elements of the preceding culture, where it must unite with them in order to find general acceptance. One is thereby disposed to distinguish this first period from that in which its principles have secured the mastery and now pass through their natural phases of development.

In the domain of architecture, the confusion indicated depends on the fact, that many Frenchmen make a distinction between the architecture of that first controverted period, who designate it as "Renaissance", and the general architectural style produced by the Renaissance, which after that first period continued to develop, and of which that first period merely forms the first stage in development.

8. Recapitulation and Deductions.

Shall one designate by the word "Renaissance" an entire architectural style or merely the moment of the dawning of this style, joined with the consideration, that it is not the birth of an entirely new style, but the reawakening or the reanimation of elements partly in existence for thousands of years?

If one decides for the first conception, then must one extend the appellation "Renaissance" over the entire duration of the

style, over all its periods and phases of development, thus at least from the time of Brunellesco till the end of the Rococo style or of the style of Louis XV. On the contrary, if one decides for the second understanding, then one merely stands for the designation of the first phase of the development of a style, which considered as a whole, one may designate as "Modern" or even as a "nameless architectural style".

With the latter basal idea, the French appear to wish to say, that the Renaissance lasted only while the French genius was creative in a national spirit, i.e. Gothic, and independently took part in the development. One must add, that such a conception is from a certain point of view not without justification, it being assumed that one admits the designation of "Renaissance" to be based on a conventional assumption. But however important for the vital character of the style was also the participation of the Gothic spirit, yet the new architectural style created by this participation did not cease after the apparent end of the Gothic influence, to be native to France and to organically develop further there, just as little as the national spirit has ceased to be the chief agent in this development and to take part therein.

Although the newly created style of architecture accordingly continued to exist and to further develop after the same principles, which partly lie at the ground of the development of the Gothic style, shall it then be designated either as modern architecture or as the architectural style of the 17 th century? We there stand before something entirely capricious and unripe, indeed before something illogical. A comparison with the Gothic style shows this most clearly.

If one desires to limit the architectural style created by the French Renaissance to the 16 th century alone, then as a result must also that architecture in France be merely designated as "Gothic", which falls in the period from 1150 to 1250; the two succeeding periods of development of this style must then likewise be awarded the same "nameless" fate. For during the years from 1150 to 1250, most of the types and combinations of the Gothic style were essentially created, while it merely received a different interpretation in the succeeding second period; just as if its motives were merely set in a different

light. Likewise the third period, the late Gothic, only gave a different harmony to the entire style of architecture.

But the frequently indicated subdivision of French architecture, after the extinction of the Gothic, into Renaissance and into Modern Architecture is not satisfactory in other respects, and it gives opportunity for incorrect conclusions, especially on the following grounds:-

1. The architectural style thus designated as "Modern" already existed much earlier in Italy, where it originated in the same period, that is termed the golden age of the Renaissance; therefore this "Modern" architecture would then belong in Italy to the Renaissance, but not so in France.

2. Before the introduction of iron into building, the "Modern" has employed no style, that could not be designated as belonging to one of the periods of development of the Renaissance.

Therefore such a definition of the French Renaissance, which is based, so to speak, only on the intensity of the participation of the national spirit, is unsatisfactory and unscientific, when more carefully considered, not corresponding to the teachings of history and esthetics.

One might raise the question, whether the national participation during the later periods of development was actually as slight as seems to be assumed? Did it not rather assume a different form? Did it not act in other spheres, which permitted its opposition to the Italian element to appear less harsh and therefore less clearly apparent? Exactly because the result of the first period of development of the French Renaissance, -- thus the same period that the French alone usually designate as such, -- consisted in this, that France had originated with tolerable completeness the form expression of the Italian Renaissance, and had learned to apply it, then it resulted from this state of affairs, that a conventional contradiction in the acceptance of the art substantially no longer existed, that therefore France apprehended differently from before the Renaissance or the Neo-Latin art, and could place itself abreast of it. It was possible for the French with younger powers to enter the arena, to take part in the exposition of the second and perhaps more cosmopolitan form of the Renaissance, not only to realize it at home, but thanks to the power of its monarchic unified s

state, to carry it to some aims, that it had not been able to attain in Italy. France had come into the position of appearing in opposition to a part of Europe as the representative of the new period of development. France actually appeared in this character of leader for Western Europe so much the more, or at least for a part thereof, the more the subjective vivacity, the intellect and the caprice of the Gauls harmonized at just this time with the subjective freedom, that formed the character of the contemporary phase of the Renaissance in particular, the last of the two periods of development. The style of Louis XV permitted France to express itself with animation and naturally in the newly arisen style of art, in accordance with the national temperament. One may indeed say, that when the Renaissance had attained in its consistent development to this conception of art, it had then first become possible for the French, -- or more correctly, the then living French, -- to embody their national character in the new art, and to make this new period of architectural development entirely a national art. Its expansive force outwards was thereafter much greater.

After the most important explanations of the French ideas of the architecture of the Renaissance in France have been made in the preceding, then in order to obtain a better understanding of the nature of this architectural style, should the stand-points be now discussed, on which these different conceptions are based.

9. Views of Courajod.

According to Courajod, the true source of the Renaissance is to be found in the intense development of realism in Flemish art, as it was developed in Northern France and in Burgundy during the 15th century; for without this realism strengthened by the study of nature, it would have been impossible for the understanding of the antique, and the treatment of its forms to be living and artistically creative. A great truth undeniably forms the basis of this opinion, but it is not yet expressed in proper form, and moreover an entirely erroneous conclusion is deduced therefrom. The correct part of this view rather consists in this, that without the existence of Gothic art in its entirety, no Renaissance would probably have been possible, i.e., no reanimation of a great part of Greco-Roman ideas and

art forms, no application of its principles to the new needs of civilization. Since the fall of Rome, perhaps of Athens as well, among all art periods, that of the Gothic was the first and only one, that throughout from the ground to the loftiest cross-flower, possessed true life, the only art at least in architecture, which attained a completely developed and concentrated esthetic conception and development.

The infusion of Gothic architecture and of the connected study of the Northern native nature in Italy was the fructifying spark, which was to bring new life into the comprehension of antique forms. Their adoption and prompt transformation by the masters of the Florentine Cathedral, by Arnolfo di Lapo to Orcagna, Giovanni di Lapo Ghini and Brunellesco, formed the earliest living alliance between antique and Gothic, already belonging to the spirit of the Renaissance. The Florentine Cathedral, its campanile, and the Cathedral in Milan are buildings sprung from an antique mode of thought, clothed in Gothic garments. The style preparatory to the Renaissance on the Florentine Cathedral alone made Brunellesco possible later, made Florence manifestly the father city of the Renaissance itself, where it is not to be forgotten, that Rome played the part of mother city.

This is the true form in which Gothic and Northern realism participated in the creation of the Renaissance, already in the 13th century. While the art of Van Eyck, that of Claes Sluyter and of other allied masters represent the utmost powers, the most intensive development of Northern Gothic realism or the noblest climax of its spiritual harmony, it would never have been able of itself from the realism produced by the study of nature alone, with Gothic art principles and with the models offered by Bruges, Dijon or Nuremberg, to produce the Renaissance by an organic and natural national development, or by any subjective evolution whatever of this, since it had already said everything, that this art could say without the aid of a foreign spirit. This foreign spirit was the Neo-Italian or modern spirit of Europe in the form yet living today, that certainly comprised likewise a number of Northern elements, which the migrations of the nations, and later the Gothic had sown there.

10. Views of Magne.

In views like those of Lucien Magne (Art 5), it is asked, whe-

whether the modifications that he observed on certain buildings, as on the House of Jacques Coeur at Bourges, merely arise from a certain weariness of the late Gothic masters, a longing for something different, or whether they are influences of the objective, i.e. of antique esthetics, even though entirely clothed in Gothic. If the last be true, then may they be considered as Renaissance ideas in a latent condition. This would not be allowable in the first case; for as already shown in the preceding Article (9), the longing for something novel could not bring forth a new art from Gothic alone, but at the utmost only prepare a place for it.

11. Other Views.

The opinion that the Renaissance terminates the middle ages is probably the most astonishing of all. It can only have originated in the fact, that since Gothic construction and composition continued in the styles of Louis XII and of Francis I, the occurrence of antique details indicates the end of the Gothic. Then if the Renaissance were properly regarded as an appearance of death and not of birth, -- a view that entirely contradicts the meaning of the word, we should then merely have the opinions of those, who regard the so-called style of Francis I as the Renaissance. They think only of the true process of transition from the Gothic style to that in which the antique forms not only affixed to a Gothic composition, but form parts of a composition more in the antique spirit, as the case in the French high Renaissance of Henry II and in the court of the Louvre.

Those, who see the true Renaissance in the style of Henry II, evidently think that the characteristic of the Renaissance style is the use of reanimated antique forms and the complete exclusion of the Gothic skin.

Most Frenchmen, who permit the Renaissance to extend to Henry III or IV, do so for the reason, that this space of time actually comprises the entire development of a style in three periods: the origin, climax, and the decadence. Those inclined to this opinion must also regard this space of time also as the close of the development of a style, since the national participation in architecture thenceforth assumes another spirit, one that is less apparent. The appearance of brickwork under Henry IV

with systematically treated and banded ashlar quoins indeed presents an endeavor after "fashion" or perhaps even a psychological phenomenon, but neither one entirely novel, nor one obstructing or terminating the style, as many seem to assume. This common brickwork forms only one side of the style during one or two of its phases; its other side is developed as the continuance of the architecture of the 16th century.

12. Views on the Relation to the Antique.

We finally come to the opinion, that the Renaissance may be identified as the acceptance of the antique again in our life and the consequences of this. Palustre²⁰ alludes to this in the following manner:- "During a space of more than two centuries it was the fashion among us to consider as a period of weakness and barbarism the more than two thousand years, that separates the fall of Greco-Roman art after the migration of the nations from its progressive restoration under Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I. To not lose the reputation of a man of taste, one must boldly maintain, that civilized, artistic and literary France first dates from the Italian campaigns, that at the Renaissance was the beam of light, which banished the darkness in which our ancestors had dwelt since Chlodowig".

Note 20. Architecture de la Renaissance. Paris. 1892. p.135.

The opinions set forth in the preceding are now followed by the views of those, who do not recognize the strong influence of the antique on the Renaissance, which it actually possessed, and who are not willing to acknowledge, that at a certain time, the principles and the taste of Gothic were supplanted by those of the antique.

Caesar Daly belongs here. He professes this belief, for:--

1. The world has never seen the phenomenon of another such rebirth.

2. The entire diversity of the means, by which the two art epochs have been developed, makes this impossible.

3. The assertion that antique art, that had been buried for centuries beneath the culture produced by itself, alone founded the esthetic splendor of a new civilization, based on new principles and worked out by new races, is equivalent to the denial of the connection of art with civilization, and it denies to an art its basal character, which must consist in giving expression

to the feelings and ideas of its time.

Daly states his own opinion on this in the following words. "If the Renaissance was also no substitution of the antique for the Gothic spirit, then was the Renaissance nourished by the antique in its cradle, and the modern spirit has thereby accepted a great loan from antiquity".

Eugene Müntz ²¹ writes, that the true nature of the Renaissance in the absolute sense did not consist in the imitation of antiquity; but one must admit therewith the efforts of the artists of the time of Charlemagne, or the Romanesque period, as well as those of Louis David, Ingres, Canova and of Thorwaldsen.

Note 21. Hist. de l'Art pendant la Renaissance. Paris. 1888-1894. Vol. 3. p. 3.

The last champions of the Renaissance, writes Müntz, ²² the Sangallos, Vignola, Serlio, Palladio, adhered to the already utilized (antique) buildings; but they analyzed them with still greater severity than their predecessors, and only more by antiquity - - . He then mentions the example of Falconetto, who traveled to Rome after a dispute at Verona, merely to test something on an antique building, and he then writes further:- "With what zeal does not one race excel the other in its work; Palladio corrects Serlio, Desgodetz corrects Palladio and Serlio, the 19 th century corrects the 18 th, and thus one attains to a mathematically accurate, that replaces a more or less independent interpretation. Here breaks forth the difference between the gift of imitation and the power of assimilation. Copying is the slavish repetition of a foreign work; to assimilate this is to transform it and make it one's own.

Note 22. Müntz. Vol. 3. p. 108.

Instead of appearing as an enemy or a hindrance, the antique was regarded as a worthy helper, utilized for humanizing and disciplining; the halo of youth, that it owed to having been long forgotten and to the works of Italian architects, soon raised it from a helper and ally to be a master and lord; but as soon as it spoke as a master, the Renaissance was at an end". ²³

Note 23. Planat. p. 317.

In the latest Paris "Grande Encyclopedie", H. Saladin wrote in 1888:- "One may connect a part of the buildings in the reigns of Henry IV and of Louis XIII with the second period of the

Renaissance. But after the beginning of the 17th century, architecture more and more lost its own originality, let itself be inspired more and more by the antique, and approaching this, in order under Louis XIV to attain to magnitude and a certain unity at the cost of grace and variety".

c. Definition of the Idea of the Renaissance.

13. Earliest Use of the Word "Renaissance".

I have neither succeeded by means of literary research, nor by inquiry among the most competent contemporaries, in seeking when and where the term "Renaissance" was first employed. Those passages in which I found the word earliest are contained in De Caumont's Essay mentioned below; ²⁴ this adds to the second period of the "tertiary Gothic" in brackets, "period of the Renaissance". (See Appendix at end of this volume).

Note 24. Essai sur l'Architecture religieuse du Moyen Age. Vol. 1 of Societe des Antiquaires de Normandie. Part 2. Caen. 1824. p. 654.

Quatremere de Quincy continually speaks ²⁵ (also on Brunellesco) of the restoration of good taste; but in one place he writes, that Alberti must take a first place in the history of those men, who have especially contributed in architecture to the "Renaissance" of the arts and the revival of good taste.

Note 25. Histoire de la Vie des plus celebres Architectes du XI e jusque la fin du XVIII e Siecle. Paris. 1830.

Many believe that the earliest use of the expression "Renaissance" should be referred to Vasari, and this is also partially correct in Italian. That by the word "Rinascita", i.e. rebirth, is understood not merely a single act of resurrection in consequence of a new principle, but likewise refers to all the efforts thereby produced, is based on the fact, that he speaks of the progress of the rebirth (see original for text). Hence he does not wish to designate thereby a mere transition course, but the art arising from the rebirth and progressive, which had already reached a certain completeness at his time, in his opinion. He therefore also terms as Renaissance the art arising from and after the important event of the rebirth. (Also see Art. 24).

An idea connected with the resurrection and rebirth of art also already clearly occurs in the words of Lorenzo's Ghiberti

in his second Commentary,²⁶ indeed already applied to Giotto, "the discoverer of such a great theory, which was buried during about 600 years". And how did he effect this rising from the grave? By what the others did not attain, by bringing in natural art again, connected with "refinement" and inseparable from moderation, i.e. the harmony of proportions. But these are just the principles, which when applied in the South, in Italy or Greece, produced antique art.

Note 26. Vasari. Edition of Lemonnier. Florence. 1846. I.p.18.

14. The Renaissance as an Alliance.

To understand the nature of the Renaissance as a kind of alliance, as Ghiberti already does, is also done by a series of recent writers.

Burckhardt's designation of the architecture of the Renaissance as a derived style is based upon the same thought of an alliance between the antique source and the modern spirit.

Philarete Chasles²⁷ writes:- "The art works of the ancients produced new ones, and modern Rome became the proud rival of the Greek cities - -. The Italian artists created astonishing works, which still serve our most famous masters as models --. The period designated as "Renaissance" is finally and chiefly characterized as the fusion, which was completed between the modern Christian spirit and the reawakened spirit of antiquity. -- It was itself merely a period of transition".

Note 27. Encyclopedie du XIX Siecle. 3 rd edition. Paris. 1872. Vol. 30.

Müntz likewise considers the Renaissance in accordance with its internal nature as an alliance, an agreement, indeed between tradition and initiative or invention, in other words, between the antique and realism.²⁸

Note 28. Müntz. Vol. 3. p. 3.

Of the first years of the 16th century, Paul Mantz wrote:- "This historic moment is peculiarly interesting; it is the magical and fruitful hour, in which something of the Italian spirit mingles with the French spirit". He terms the first years of this century Franco-Italian.²⁹

Note 29. See his Studies on Mantegna in Gazette des Beaux Arts. 1886. August.

15. The Antique or new Element.

However diverse may be the views of the nature of the art of the Renaissance in France, on thing is certain, that the same element which joined the late Gothic and modified that style of architecture, for which it becomes necessary to find a new name, is taken from antique Roman architecture on the basis of Italian interpretation, that these elements always became more numerous, that men toiled more and more to unite them in the original spirit into larger groups and buildings, and finally certain kinds of buildings are designed entirely in the antique spirit.

If in the time of Charlemagne and then in Pisa and Southern France, the endeavor to again treat the antique forms somewhat better than before, did not lead to a Renaissance, then is this no proof for its eternal weakness, or that not it, but the Flemish realism produced the Renaissance.

On the contrary, all this shows that with the first pulse-beat of the Renaissance and its first breath, what it inhaled anew was antique. Not the Gothic, that lived in it, is the new, -- it was already there, -- it is the addition of the antique, which is the new element, as may be seen by a comparison of Figs 1³⁰ and 2.³¹

Note 30. Reproduced from Rev. Gen. d'Arch. Vol. 44. Pl. 34.

Note 31. From Saugageot's Palais etc. Vol. 4. Pl. 9.

On the other hand, the fact that it is indisputably the occurrence of the antique, its permeation of the late Gothic, and its ever increasing part in the architecture of the 13th century, that forms the new element, which calls for the designation of "Renaissance"; further, contrary to the fact, that a possibly complete treatment of the problem in the spirit of antique architecture in Italy was of itself the visible aim of the Renaissance, -- it seems entirely inconceivable in opposition to these two facts, that one desires to have the architectural style produced under such conditions and before the aim is attained, which first appeared before the eyes, instead of making this properly the bloom and fruit of the entire Renaissance movement, as a historically authentic result thereof.

16. Views on the Effect of the Antique.

Concerning the relation of the Renaissance to a more intensive and more severe occurrence of antique forms in the classic spirit, we stand before three different opinions, all of which

permit the Renaissance to end with an appearance of classical architecture. In a remarkable way however, each of these views permits this to occur before a different period of the classic.

1. The high Renaissance of Henry II.

2. The classic period, that in accordance with the views of many should begin with the Bourbons at about 1600.

The pure classic between 1730 and 1750. We here refer to Fig. 3,³² whose author was a Frenchman, who already endeavored to take up classic forms about 1535.

Note 32. Cabinet des Estampes. Paris. Vol. E. 2. ref.

The last definition, which proves to be the same that Burckhardt established in his "Cicerone" for the Italian Renaissance, appears to me to correspond especially to the actual circumstances, both from the historical stand-point of architecture, as well as from the other intellectual developments, so that it may be adopted without hesitation for description of the architectural style of the Renaissance in France, without thereby intending to assert, that it there reached its end, and that the present architecture of France no longer belongs to this style.

From the point of view of such an alliance, we will now investigate the character of French architecture since the cessation of the Gothic, in order to be able to fix the duration of the Renaissance.

17. Continuance of the Renaissance in France until the present Time.

It was necessary in the preceding pages to place in the strongest light the different opinions of the French themselves upon this period of their own architecture, in order to secure the best possible understanding of the nature of the style concerned, so is it no less necessary to also consider from a European stand-point the appearance of an architectural style, that originated outside France and prevailed throughout the entire West, and especially to compare its development with that in its native land of Italy.

Concerning the duration of the Renaissance in Italy and the periods into which it may be divided, Burckhardt expresses himself as follows. He distinguishes two periods of the proper Renaissance, the first from 1420 to 1500, the time of seeking, the early Renaissance; the second may scarcely reach to the year

1540; it is the golden period of modern architecture, the high Renaissance. After 1540 already commenced the first signs of the Barocco ³³ style; yet the high Renaissance still continued beside it from 1540 to 1580, although more under the influence of a calculating and combining understanding.³⁴ Burckhardt strikingly says, that Barocco art speaks the same language as the Renaissance, but a brutalized dialect thereof.³⁵ Burckhardt extends the Barocco and the true Rococo, scarcely to be considered in Italy, to the resulting reawakening of pure Classicism between the years 1730 and 1750.³⁶ Hence, as well as from the opinion of Burckhardt, that what is termed Renaissance is the origin of modern architecture and decoration, it is clear that he considered all phenomena of architecture in Italy from 1420 to 1730 as the various phases of a single style. This has likewise for many years been my own deepest conviction.

Note 33. Burckhardt's Der Cicerone. 5 th edition by Bode. Leipzig. 1884. p. 84.

Note 34. Der Cicerone. p. 253.

Note 35. Der Cicerone. p. 277.

Note 36. Der Cicerone. p. 355.

Let us now examine how it is with the different phases of the style in French architecture, corresponding to those mentioned in Italy, and how long in French architecture this alliance lasted between antique architecture and a definitely expressed native tendency of genius.

It may well be said, that as on the one hand Italian and also in part antique forms were adopted, but that on the other hand these were animated by a native vivid perception, or at least were vividly interpreted, this appearance may perhaps form the characteristic nature of French Renaissance in the 16 th century, thus during the same periods, which most Frenchmen now designate as the time of their Renaissance. Therefore if the explanation of what composes the period and duration of the French Renaissance be based upon amount and intensity of animated inspiration and of free invention, with which the French treated the forms borrowed from Italy, then is their idea of the duration of the Renaissance justified, or at least it should seem at first justified. We say, apparently justified; for more closely considered, one likewise beholds from the time of Louis XIII

to the death of Louis XIV a certain national understanding in the entire interpretation of forms, which are substantially in nowise different from those, which had already been naturalized in 1540 - 1570 and are designated as the style of Henry II; in other words, the forms of the high Renaissance. (Figs. 4, 37 5 38).

Note 37. Sauvageot. Vol. 3.

Note 38. Marot, Jean. Ouvre de. I-30.

One cannot therefore say, that the existence or absence of a national participation in French architecture alone makes the difference between the architectural styles of the 16 th and 17 th centuries in France; for in both these centuries did this interest exist; merely the national genius changed.

18. Period of Louis XIII and Louis XIV.

Has this spirit of the 17 th century anywhere changed anything in the number of the elements, that must be considered as composing the Renaissance style in the time of Pope Julius II and Clement VII in Italy, as well as in the time of Henry II in France? Not at all. The appearance of the fashion of brickwork under Henry IV and Louis XIII may perhaps be cited as proof of the contrary. But this tendency there forms but the half of the architectural style concerned and of its current; it is also no such decided novelty as many believe; the other half of that architectural style was logically developed further. Only in the spirit of the entire interpretation which the decorative enhancement of the architectural framework, composed of the columnar orders, received, did any modification occur. The principles of composition of the plan, as well as of the elevation, are always the same, especially those, which were finally fixed by Bramante between 1500 and 1514, even if this truth be not adequately recognized and disseminated today.

Reason, that judgement on which the French have since laid such great weight, thought, or calculation directed toward strict obedience to principles and severe adherence to formulas, enters in place of the joyful and gay pleasure and imagination of the Gallo-French temperament in the 16 th century. In the dignity and stiff majesty may indeed be seen the effect of the Spanish influence then so strong in France, appearing with its frigid dignity, grandioseness and ceremony, which apparently could not be fully vivified by the Huguenot-Dutch influence con-

connected with one side of the national temperament.

If the real architectural framework was quite severe in case of the masters concerned, they then permitted a much freer art to prevail in the internal stucco and fresco decoration, just like that of Pietro Berettini da Cortona, on which depended the freer style of decoration in the period of Louis XIV.

Of the attitude of the era of Richelieu towards the antique, Henri Martin ³⁹ writes:-- "It was an intensive revival of the Renaissance, much more radical than the period of the 16 th century, and a far more systematic extinction of the middle ages".

Note 39. Marot. Also see Art. 4.

Müntz writes:-- ⁴⁰ "The last workers in the Renaissance, the Sangallos, Vignola, Serlio, Palladio, adhered to the buildings already studied; ⁴¹ but they analyzed them with still greater severity than their predecessors, and they only swore by antiquity --?" If these masters, as here occurs, with full justice be still counted in the Italian Renaissance, the simplest logic then requires, that the style of Louis XIV which is apparently only the French edition of the same art, should likewise be accounted with the French Renaissance.

19. Period of Louis XV.

During the Regency and the first half of the reign of Louis XV was felt a strong need of freedom from the cold and stiff regularity of Louis XIV and men soon yielded to the free and gayly coquettish caprices of Gallic genius. All this was completed, as in the preceding period, within the continuing framework of the columnar orders and their complements, and extended especially to the decorative part of the architectural style, indeed occurring with so prominent a development of the national temperament, so that by this participation of the national genius, the style of Louis XV became one of the most brilliant expressions of the peculiarly French art tendency.

Just as the late Gothic flamboyant style moved within the real structural members of the two preceding periods and was satisfied further with the curvature of certain crowning members, Borromini and the Rococo proceeded likewise, though far more rapidly, extending the curved lines also to certain lines of the plan, as well as in the definite capricious forms similar to those in nature, even to all lines of the composition. ---

The free and capricious spirit of the Rococo style, the combination of the common elements, that exists from the beginning of the Renaissance, between the preceding periods of time, brings such homogeneousness of the appearances of this style, that one is always challenged anew to a comparison with the uniform development of the Gothic style, which found its close in the late Gothic.

Thus it appears always clearer to us, that the Rococo likewise forms an intellectual close, being indeed the close of an architectural style, whose conventional beginning cannot be placed later than at the beginning of the Renaissance itself. If one wishes to put down as one style, that lasting from Henry IV till 1750, and which is different from that prevailing in France from 1500 to 1600, then must one similarly not consider the architecture of the second and third phases of the Gothic style (1250 - 1500) as belonging to the Gothic style of architecture, as soon as one has designated by this name that from 1150 to 1250.

20. Period from 1750 to 1862.

Yet the Rococo forms no final close of the Renaissance architecture, as on the contrary was the case with the flamboyant for the Gothic style of architecture. No true break in style follows the Rococo; but the style of Louis XVI begins the same development anew, when it recurs to the style of Julius II. And again in Italy, the 16 th century had already had its Rococo, which might from its nature be termed capricious, bizarre, fantastic, or capricious-fantastic.

On the one hand, the development of the architectural style beginning with the Renaissance thus conventionally appears to extend to the end of the Rococo. But on the other, both the earlier existence of this bizarre or first Rococo style, as well as the appearance of the style of Louis XVI and the Empire succeeding the Rococo appears to determine, that the character and the law of development of architecture from 1500 to 1750 is in part different from that of the development of Gothic architecture. It likewise seems decided, that the architectural treatment after the Rococo comprises both in spirit and forms all constituent elements of the Renaissance, and it thereby also belongs to the style of Renaissance architecture.

Meanwhile the architectural period of Louis XVII again react-

reacting against the preceding one, returns to the severe tendency, indeed in a way, that may be designated as a kind of resurrection of the architectural style of Bramante and of Raphael's loggias, though in a somewhat softer treatment, and it only afterwards continued truly in the style of the Renaissance. Rivroalen ⁴² therefore justly speaks of the Neo-Renaissance under Louis XVI.

Note 42. Planat. p. 582.

We may further not unconditionally share the views of those, who assume that in French art, a formal separation was caused by the revolution from its past and in its traditions. It rather appears that the connection of the style of the Empire with the style of Louis XVI was always closer and more logical, and after the objective, cold and classical severity of the former, there appear with the period of Romanticism various tendencies, that exhibit freedom, imagination, and frequently caprice, that always characterizes the third period of the development of the style, and which have attained their climax in the Paris Opera House of Charles Garnier.

The Empire style was succeeded by, and there developed again in part, -- according to the usual French mode of expression, -- not architectural styles, but "schools":-- the Classical, the Neo-Gothic and those of general Eclecticism and of Realism. ⁴³ This abundance of diverse tendencies perhaps indicates a period of fermentation, corresponding to that under Henry IV, out of which might possibly be expanded the fourth period of the development of the Renaissance.

21. Establishment of the Conception "Renaissance".

As results from the preceding, the French usually designate as "Renaissance" those periods of their architecture, which immediately begin to develop with the penetration of antique elements into Gothic forms toward the end of the 15 th century. They permit these to endure so long as a perceptible quantity of free national genius makes possible a living perception of antique forms, and permit their application to the problems of the contemporaneous period. Yet there with a mixed people composed of at least three great races, as the French are, in the domain of intellect and of temperament, of which alone we speak here, the idea of what is "national" must vary so greatly, more

diverse (even today as well), than seems to be generally assumed, one may frequently observe, especially during the subjective wave of artistic development in which we find ourselves, that many believe that the French national spirit is based chiefly upon the Gothic. In consequence thereof it has been believed, that a living national perception of antique forms only occurred during the 16 th century, and limited to the latter the duration of the Renaissance.

Such an understanding is very easily understood in case of a people so highly gifted artistically as the French, and indeed so much the more as the vivacious, original, and in part the very subjective comprehension, the animation of their mercurial spirit, as Philibert de l'Orme says, form not only one of the most prominent sides of the national character of the French, -- but certainly also is to be considered as an element in the service of one of those special missions, that are distributed among the various races.

But to me this limitation appears incorrect, both from the French, as well as from the European point of view, and likewise is not in harmony with the conception of what the Renaissance is and should be accepted for, with the conception to which we advise adherence with every energy. This limitation is finally just as erroneous in the domain of general history, as in those of architecture and of esthetics.

The architecture of the Renaissance is likewise the only one actually existing in France today. The noblest and most famous works, -- like Brune's Ministry of Agriculture, Daumet's restoration of Chantilly, Duc's hall of pas-perdus in the Palace of Justice, Labrousse's reading hall in the National Library, and the Paris Opera-House of Charles Garnier, -- they all have their places in the living genealogy of the Renaissance in France.

22. The Author's Definition of the Renaissance.

If one desires to find a definition of the Renaissance, which shall apply to both its original occurrence in Italy as well as to its appearance in the other countries of the old and new world, at the same time comprising the chief works, like those appearing while the constituent elements of the Renaissance endured, we believe that this definition must be given as follows:-- the Renaissance is the use of the architectural forms of classic

antiquity and their principles in a new spirit, with their application to the solution of the problems of the later "sometimes modern" times succeeding the period of the Gothic; a spiritual as well as intellectual alliance of antique culture with that of a later period coming after the Gothic.

Considered in the broadest manner, the architecture of the Renaissance is the reconciliation of the genius and the principles of the antique Greco-Roman architecture with that of the Gallo-Germanic peoples, as this found its highest and costliest living expression in the Gothic style.

It consists of the sum of all merely conceivable solutions, which have been produced in the various steps, halts or stages, through which this architectural union has passed in all European countries.

From this it comes that the Renaissance is the reconciliation and the living bond between the two architectural styles, which are the highest conceivable embodiment of the greatest architectural contrasts:- of the horizontal and the vertical principles, of the subjective and objective modes of invention, of a striving from the details to the whole, and of a development from a general entirety to the details, of that working from within outwards, and from the exterior to the interior.

As the Gothic is the highest expression of the vertical carried to a climax, which everywhere rises from the earth as an architectural force, and in its composition proceeds from the scale of man and of the smallest architectural unity by addition or multiplication; just so does Greco-Roman architecture represent the highest principle of architecture placed on the earth or transmitted from elsewhere. While it everywhere strove for a horizontal elevation and termination, it emphasizes the character of living, but of settled repose, and of the eternal duration of the objective truth. Always proceeding from the unity of the whole, and taking this as scale, its subdivision into members is based upon the ground ideas of subtraction and of division.

Such a conception and explanation of the idea of the "architecture of the Renaissance" not only corresponds to historic truth, but it is also consistent with the belief, that the world is progressing to the good. It alone permits the recogniti-

recognition with this belief, that the Renaissance, -- the ecclesiastical as well as the secular, -- is the greatest event in the world's history since the origin of Christendom, indeed likewise architecturally an event of similar signification. For this was it necessary, that it might express the complete ideal of the modern world, might absorb all goodness and eternal truth of the preceding architectural styles, and be in a position to profit by them. It could do this by a definition alone, as here attempted.

We cannot possibly satisfy ourselves with these definitions, which assume that a historical movement of such significance to the world's history has produced only the opposite from that which everything in it strove for:-- the reintroduction into art of objective perfection and its harmony with subjective individual freedom, for which all truly classical art periods labored. Men judged it according to its endeavors and for its aims and not merely by what it did not yet attain. The classic periods are the best ages of the Renaissance. They were its aim from the very first; to exclude them from the Renaissance is indeed illogical.

Just as little is the opinion justified, that this architecture is necessarily a less Christian style, than the preceding. Such a view is perhaps apparently justified, but it always rests on a confusion of what a style frequently becomes in unworthy hands, with what it was capable of and was called to do, corresponding to its innermost nature.

23. Difference between Renaissance, Revival and Awakening.

The thorough and vast difference between the Renaissance and all somewhat similar endeavors for a purer or more intensive employment of antique fragments or elements, such as we see in the time of Charlemagne, in Pisa in the 11th century, or in Tuscany in the 12th century, consists in this, that in the era of the latter no complete, thorough, esthetic breach had occurred with the Roman forms. Ever more unskillfully, more rudely and misunderstood, were they used by the Latin, as well as by the German barbarians in Italy, chiefly also, as they were employed in the various Romanesque schools of the West to express thoughts or forms of their own ideas, -- for ideas, that the Northern peoples, who had settled down in the provinces of the

former Roman empire, filled with an inward impulse, always labored to more fully express.

But with the Gothic finally arose a new, a noble art, which in all phases, the esthetic as well as the structural stood in opposition to the antique, greater than could be otherwise conceived. And since after 350 years, such an art had exhausted the entire treasure of its ideals, when men found it necessary to form a new alliance with antique art, believed dead for a thousand years, this was an event, such as the antique world had never yet seen, and which deserved to bear the fine name of "Renaissance", and to the architecture due to this alliance is for all time due the name of Renaissance architecture in particular.

24. Graphical Representation of the Development of French Architecture since 1500.

Vasari calls the attention of artists to the fact, that the art rose from a small beginning to the highest splendor, and it fell from such an exalted place into the lowest ruin; he says that peculiar to the arts are birth, growth, decay and death, just like the human body.⁴⁴ In consequence thereof, he continues, may be easily recognized the progress of its rebirth and the perfection itself, to which it had again risen in his day. the expression "progress of its rebirth" also already contains in its entire form the verbal word "Renaissance".

Note 44. Proemio delle vite. No. 18a Edition of Lemonnier. I. 214.

If we attempt a graphical representation of architecture in France in accordance with the intensity of the antique spirit, and of the abundance of antique elements, that sometimes occur in the different phases of the style, the drawing is produced, which we give on the adjacent Plate. The antique tendency indicated by red, from the campaigns of Charles VIII into Italy until the beginning of the erection of the new Paris Opera House, (1862), forms three waves of exactly equal length, which alternate with opposing tendencies, when a freer spirit prevails, a spirit that may be considered as a continuation of the native Gothic, supported and strongly influenced by the spirit of freedom and frequently by the acprice of the school of Michelangelo and of Borromini on the one hand, and by the spirit of the Hug-

Huguenots and the Dutch on the other.

On the side of the tendency indicated by red, we have given a graphical representation of the duration of the lives and activity of Italian architects, which exerted the greatest influence on the development of the Italian, and later of the French Renaissance, indeed of those, whose works belong to the legitimate or objective direction of the style. On the side of the tendency denoted by blue, we have done the same for the Italian masters, which show the predominating subjective art.

The former tendency culminated in Bramante, into whose "four manners" all Italian architecture before him empties itself, and from which all after him proceeds. The second tendency culminates in Michelangelo. By the waves in the "cartouches" of certain masters, we wish to recall that they had different "shades", where we are unable to give these waves in exact accordance with their chronological duration. By the depth of the "cartouches", we wish to call attention to the importance of the master; neither can a mathematical scale be assumed for these.

Of the two narrow side strips accompanying the main current on both sides, the red one represents the direct study of the sources from the antique monuments, and the green indicates the source of the direct study of nature, chiefly in the sense of the Gothic and Flemish naturalistic tendency.

We shall refer to the adjacent Plate in various places in the following.

Chapter 2. The French Renaissance a French-Italian Compromise.

a. French Need of a Renaissance.

25. Need of a Renaissance.

In the life of the individual, like that of the peoples, there successively follow periods, -- probably in regular alternation, -- in which the need of external stimulation is found, and those in which men no less feel a need, to show the fruits of the combination of this stimulation and their own understanding, and to disseminate them among men. This acceptance on the one hand and the modified reproduction of that received on the other hand, this spiritual or moral aspiration of the individual, like the historic aspiration process of entire peoples, forms one of the ground laws of all creation.

Just as little as that a man can continually only exhale, without constantly inhaling fresh air, just so little can any people, -- certainly not a mixed race like the French, -- continually produce, at least not on the same intellectual domain. During the entire Gothic period, Northern France was the unbroken chief source of architectural development, of the true Gothic tendency in the West. With the end of the Gothic style of architecture, in which the Gallo-Germanic North had given expression to everything artistic, and in great part indeed to everything intellectual, that it was then able to invent for itself, France reached a period, when it was compelled to inhale fresh air from the outside. This fundamental truth for architecture, which at present many are unwilling to recognize as "modern" enough, was fully valued by Viollet-le-Duc. "The national architecture", as he writes, ⁴⁵ "the church like the monastic, vanished lustreless in obscurity. Secular architecture with feudalism, but with a clear light, the Renaissance, which added nothing to church architecture and merely hastened its fall, brought to secular architecture a new element, alive enough to restore its youth"

Note 45. Dict. Rais. de l'Arch. Franc. Vol. II. p. 325.

In this need for something not Gothic, in the conviction that a yet other conception of life and the arts must be given, lay the true cause, that made necessary the Renaissance based on a new ground principle. And since this new ground principle exi-

existed neither in this country nor in any other one in Europe still employing Gothic, men must either enter a period of sleep and lose all activity, or they must adopt from outside this new ground principle, from the South, from Italy, Spain or from Provençal France. Neither of the countries last named were alone prepared therefor, so that Italy alone remained as the base of the light!

26. Decay of Culture in Languedoc.

If the first attempt for a Germano-Gallo-Roman culture in the West in Provence in Southern France had not been destroyed by the war with the Albigenses, and in poetry at least, partly transplanted into Tuscany, Provence and Languedoc would perhaps have been capable of modifying the invading Northern Gothic in the same way as Arnolfo and his school in Florence, thereby receiving from the noble antique monuments of Southern France a stimulation, like the Tuscans from those of Rome. In such a case, the Renaissance would certainly have originated on French territory instead of in Tuscany. In spite of their early disappearance as a political power, the Goths then as it will appear, exerted a too little considered influence on the popular temperament, and left this behind them, like the Lombards in Italy.

The necessity for extending the hand to Italy is likewise recognized by Anthyme-Saint-Paul, for he says:-⁴⁶ "A movement toward the tendency of Italian ideas could not be protracted infinitely, even independently from the campaigns of Charles VIII and Louis XII, without which it would finally be possible to explain everything. When here, contrary to the usual abandonment, the war put in motion art, because the luxurious clergy, friends of ostentation and free from all prejudices, participated therein".

Note 46. Planat. p. 359. Renaissance Française.

It is indeed in contradiction to this, when the same author writes in another place:-⁴⁷ "The school of Dijon with the exception of Michel Colombe does not change the fact, that the French earlier looked towards the North, then to the South". This contradiction must therefore be based on this, that Anthyme-Saint-Paul is inclined toward Gourajod's opinion (Arts. 5, 9), according to which that is already termed Renaissance, which is thoroughly Gothic, i.e. was here Northern-realistic and

forms the very latest climax of this art, that without permeation by the Neo-antique would have remained the same Gothic for thousands of years, since it was the expression of the national indigenous art of the North.

Note 47. Planat p. 359.

b. National Participation.

27. National Elements.

Under such conditions, it is truly correct to say:- the most striking characteristic and most easily recognized until the most recent period is that of nationality, if everything added to that previously existing, the Gothic, is brought from Italy or is picked up there. "Our architects", continues Anthyme, "are not for a moment to be accused of plagiarism, nor for an instant did they permit Italian architects to act instead of their own". Perhaps not. And yet the ground principle of the treatment of form and transposition, -- when this does not concern, so to speak, purely Italian works created by Italians, as for example the Tomb of Louis XII, -- springs from the Milanese, and if its use produces other phenomena as in Italy, this occurs because problems and tastes were also very different.

28. Antique Monuments in France.

The fact alone, that the Roman monuments of Southern France as a result of the cessation of Provençal culture, seem to have exerted scarcely any influence upon the great stream of the French Renaissance, fully shows how great about 1500 was the difference between the Gothic and the antique spirit, how it was necessary in order to cause admission of the latter into the culture domain of the Gothic style of architecture, that it should first be adapted to Northern taste, indeed in the Milanese form, in which Gothic finials appear scattered over the antique like gold dust or sugar.

In view of such facts and conditions, I have hesitated to decide that the Renaissance originated in France, or merely to lament the invasion of Italian influence, because of this apparently indigenous appearance of a native-national art development; i.e. to not only decide against one of the greatest events in the world's history, against a settled historical fact, but also against the principle of the regular alternation of opposed principles, which like inhalation and expiration, lie at the

basis of all organic, intellectual and religious life.

29. Gothic as a Northern Participation.

On the basis of the preceding discussion, it appears quite easy, -- at least in the domain of the French Renaissance architecture, -- to distinguish between the native-national and the Italian-Antique elements. The national participation in the architectural style of the Renaissance is Gothic in spirit and form; it already existed; it is the old, which continues to live; it is the mother. The new is that, which was not there, the Italian, the foreign; this is the father!

The Gothic was the first truly Northern art; the new was the antique, which entered a second time upon the stage of the world's history. It was born again; to it belonged -- for a time -- the designation of "Renaissance".

The nations commonly believe the error, that they exist only for themselves and to develop the national element for themselves. But one may readily go too far in the last opinion. Every nation indeed has a mission to influence other nations now and then; but according to a higher principle in the world, it must experience a reanimation by foreign influence and a new development of its own elements, indeed in a peaceful way, or if this be not accepted, by way of might, even by that of conquest.

Not with weapons in hand, like Caesar formerly, but invited by the French themselves, the Italian Renaissance now comes to France and generally unites, -- at least in the beginning, -- with the late Gothic in a peaceful compromise.

c. Compromise.

30. Elements of compromise.

According to its origin, architecture in France after 1500 was a Franco-Italian and an Italiano-French art; it is an alliance of Italian and French elements.⁴⁸ The different periods and phases of the development of this Compromise style have produced a series of architectural styles, which are chiefly named after the contemporary kings, as for example; style of Francis I, of Henry II etc. They spring essentially from two chief sources.

Note 48. Henri Martin says very truly in his Histoire de France (4th edition, Paris. 1855-1860): -- "The Louvre, completed

on the plan of Pierre Lescot, would have been the masterpiece of the Franco-Italian school" --; and in another passage-- "Catherine, who was reproached with surrendering France to her Italian minister, on the contrary had Italian monuments erected by French artists".

1. From the varied proportions of the mixture and from the peculiarities of the Italian and the French elements in combination.

2. From the organic development of the national spirit in Italy and France, from which proceeded the esthetic feeling and the temperament, and which sometimes employed these elements in France.

This compromise between Italian and French arrangements lies in the nature of the matter. It affords an obvious proof rather against a view, which is very acceptable in recent times in France, and which consists in summarily excluding the direct influence of an Italian from participation in the design of a building, when this exhibits any French arrangements.

Proceeding from a correct desire to assign to the national masters of the French Renaissance the part belonging to them in due proportion, and as a partly national reaction against certain incarnate absurd traditions, Palustre has given way to developing into a system the exclusion of Italian participation from the French Renaissance. His theories and their frequent acceptance have permitted us to lay more weight on this question, than we should perhaps have otherwise done, and to set the relations of the national to the Italian in the clearest possible light.

31. Palustre's Theory.

Palustre has somewhere expressed the thought, that if Italian architects were invited into France, this only had the purpose, that they were to erect buildings there, which should be similar to those existing in their native land of Italy. Since such buildings, strictly taken, very seldom occur in France, Palustre and the modern school remain under the impression, that a direct Italian influence occurred in very rare cases, and they even exclude it, where it nevertheless existed. Therefore when he asserts that buildings, which show a perceptible portion of French arrangements and Gothic details, cannot have originated

from the designs or with the aid of Italian architects, one is at the first glance inclined to hold this view as unassailable. Yet more carefully considered, its entire untenability no less clearly appears.

32. Refutation of this Theory.

As a splendid refutation of the theory of Palustre and others, we refer to the numerous sketches of Leonardo da Vinci for his model of a dome over the intersection of the Cathedral at Milan,⁴⁹ which is entirely a compromise of antique and Gothic forms, like those that form the style of Louis XII and Francis I. We further direct attention to the opinion of Bramante on the models for covering the crossing of Milan Cathedral,⁵⁰ wherein he not only regards a Gothic-like structure as self-evident, but shows himself better acquainted with some principles of composition of Gothic interiors, than are some modern Gothicists. We refer further to Bramante's windows on a part of the Grand Hospital at Milan.

Note 49. Given in Geymüller. Leonardo da Vinci as architect. In Richete's Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci. London. 1883.

Note 50. Printed in Geymüller. Die ursprüngliche Entwürfe für Sanct Peter in Rom etc. Paris and Vienna. 1875. p. 116 e.s.

Also as further proofs of the incorrectness of the opinions of Palustre and others, assuming that there can only be a question of Italian interference, where the building erected in France is similar to those seen erected in Italy, there may serve the work of Andrea Sansovino in Portugal and the design of Leonardo da Vinci, both of which show in what degree the Italians understood how to change their proposals to accord with the taste of their employer. After Vasari has enumerated different works in the domains of architecture and sculpture by Andrea Sansovino in Portugal, he continues:- "Andrea, while he was with that king, also busied himself with some extravagant and difficult architectural works according to the custom of that country and superintended them, to please the king, of which works I once saw a book of his in Monte Sansovino - -".⁵¹ Among the sketches of Leonardo da Vinci is found the ground plan of a Chateau on the road to Amboise (Fig. 16), that in the general plan, in the arrangement of round towers at the angles and beside the gateway, placed on the main axis, is very closely allied to

the French arrangement at Chateau Le Verger (Fig. 17). From the words "stia" and "stieno", which occur in the notes of Leonardo, it is evident that this is a design. Since the chief dimensions of the court are in round numbers 80 and 120 braccias, and these are given in Italian measures, it may be assumed, that Leonardo himself was the author of the design. We thereby see how even the greatest Italian master in France was compelled in various points to adhere to the arrangements usual there, while he proposed the Italian location for the stairways and did not place them as winding stairways in the towers, which at that time almost everywhere project into the courts at their inner angles. Since the plan by Leonardo of the principal chateau is entirely symmetrical, it is hard to say whether the court with the stables, as in Chateau Le Verger and other French chateaus, was to lie in front or in rear; the succeeding plan, likewise in part surrounded by moats, must indeed form a garden enclosed by porticos. Notable is the great basin, that by means of seats on three sides is at least arranged for a kind of naumachia for nautical sports. 52

Note 51. Vasari. Vita di Andrea Sansovino. IV. p. 514.

Note 52. From Geymüller. Leonardo da Vinci as Architect in Richter's Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci. Vol. 2. Pl. 81. The notes of Leonardo are written from right to left as usual.

(See original text for Italian notes).

Lastly as further evidence that in every invasion of a new architectural style into a foreign land compromises are necessary, the well known works of the famous Aristotle Fioravante in Moscow may be recalled; the only difference between these and a work in the style of Louis XII or of Francis I consists in this, that there the native element in the mixture was Byzantine-Per-sian. In Switzerland, in Germany, in England etc., one meets with the same principle of compromise; it lies in the nature of things.

Chapter 3. Diversity in Italian Influences on the French Renaissance.

33. General Survey.

Everywhere has been the endeavor to win due recognition for the part, that the Northern temperament has taken in the development of the Western European architecture since the migrations of the nations. Overcome by the contest for this just thing, several distinguished French investigators and writers have threatened the part played in French architecture by Italian, but have been unable to avoid the danger of their inclination toward so unjust an estimation of this Italian participation, as the case with their opponents for the last two centuries, concerning the part of the native element.

According to an assertion attributed to Viollet-le-Duc, exaggeration is necessary in such questions. Yet since such a declaration can scarcely be assented to, an attempt will be made hereafter to decide what may be regarded as correct and true. It will especially be necessary to show, that the Italian influence frequently existed in a form different from that assumed for it, but that it was a much greater one, than is frequently believed in recent times, should be accepted, especially among persons not artists.

In order to show the measure in which this change of the national Gothic architecture occurred, fifteen different ways are here given, in which the form expression of Italian architecture gradually penetrated into France, without thereby wishing to assert that the enumeration of such ways is here exhausted. For such readers as are not able themselves to create as artists, and who may therefore be much inclined to esteem any one of the sources mentioned to be unimportant, it may be stated, that a hasty sketch or illustration frequently influences the entire life of an architect, by opening to him a new creative domain, and by an ideal fertilization, becoming the source of his best works.

The fifteen methods indicated are as follows:--

1. Italian original drawings.
2. Italian, Netherlandish and French copper engravings.
3. Italian bronze plaques.
4. Italian relief models of buildings.

5. Marble fountains sent from Italy to France.
6. Intarsias sent from Italy to France.
7. Tombs sent from Italy to France.
8. Casts sent from Italy to France.
9. Influence of Italian paintings.
10. Influence of Italian illustrated books and translations.
11. Italian instruction or Italian lectures on Vitruvius.
12. Influence of Frenchmen, who had been in Italy.
 - a. Laymen.
 - b. Artists.
13. Influence of certain Italian monuments.
14. Influence of certain Italian masters.
15. Influence and works of Italians in France.
 - a. Colony of Amboise and school of the Loire.
 - b. School of Fontainebleau.
 - c. Italians working at other places.
34. Italian original Drawings.

Some examples of the influence of Italian original drawings may be mentioned.

a. Of the drawing by the elder Du Cerceau reproduced in Fig. 6, ⁵³ at least two earlier Italian examples are known to me, one of which is among the drawings of the son of Lorenzo Ghiberti in the Magliabecchiana at Florence.

Note 53. From the volume of the former Collection Lesoufache designated by me as portifoli J, now in the Ecole des Beaux Arts. -- Described in Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. Paris. 1887. p121.

b. The drawing of Du Cerceau given by me as Fig. 69 in the work mentioned below, is copied from an Italian drawing, or which at least two examples are likewise known to me, one being in the Uffizi at Florence, designated as No. 163 r in a series ascribed to Cronaca. ⁵⁴

Note 54. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau.

c. Fig. 70 in the same book is likewise copied from an Italian drawing, which occurs in a series by Fra Giocondo; the same is the drawing of Du Cerceau for an ideal city (Fig. 29), drawn after an Italian drawing, an example of which occurs in the same series by Giocondo. (Fig. 30).

d. Many oddities in the compositions of the elder Du Cerceau are indeed based on Italian models; thus for example, a

drawing by Rosso depicting an elephant with wonderful equipment, which shows lilies and the crowned "F", or the drawing of a flight of steps with lions at the ends of each step, similar to those that Du Cerceau was accustomed to draw. (Collections of the Louvre; drawings no. 1598 and 1576).

e. In Champfleury by Geoffroy Tory among the letters, whose forms depend upon that of the human body, are found an I and a K after the drawing by Jehan Perreal; ⁵⁵ it is evident at the first glance, that he followed Italian models for the "proportions" of the human body.

35. Copperplate Engravings.

The influence exercised by Italian copperplate engravings on the compositions of Jacques I. Du Cerceau have been sufficiently established elsewhere by me. ⁵⁶ The Vues d'Optique by Du Cerceau are not engraved after Michele Cuccchi of Lucca, as usually assumed, but are from the engravings or drawings of an earlier Italian.

Note 56. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. Chap. 4. Figs. 10, 11, 12.

Other proofs of the influence of Italian copper engravings are the following, among others.

a. I called the attention of Thiollier to the connection exhibited by two hermes of the rock-work grotto of the Chateau of La Bastie d'Urfe with the engravings of Agostino Veneto. That gentleman not only recognized this connection, but he also showed that three decorations of the Chateau La Bastie, which he has reproduced in his work on the subject ⁵⁷ on plates 29 and 57, are to be referred to three other engravings of Agostino; he published the latter for comparison. This grotesque motive is in the style of Raphael and his school, for mural decorations, being figures standing beneath leafy canopies, with vases, animals, masks etc., and the hermes of Diana of Ephesus.

Note 57. Bulletin de la Diana. Vol. 4. No. 4. Montbrison. 1890.

b. The step before the altar in the chapel of Chateau La Bastie d'Urfe is inlaid with majolica plaques, which according to the views of Lebreton and Thiollier, are to be referred to motives from the school of Raphael or of G. da Udine, as well as those of the Castle of Anet, brought from Rouen. Thiollier expresses himself in this respect as follows:-- "One point appears to be settled, that for those sculptures of the grotto and

for the great painted figures of the floor of the altar step, Claude d'Urfe, or whoever arranged this part of the building, directly utilized engravings by Agostino Veneto.⁵⁹

Note 58. Compare the mosaic copies of both engravings in Soult trait and Thiollier. Chateau de la Bastie d'Urfe etc.

Work published under auspices of Society of Diana. St. Etienne.

Note 59. See the same work.

c. That a majolica painting with the date 1542, now in the Chateau at Chantilly, is executed from an Italian composition, which is already found among the drawings of Fra Giocondo, the author has already stated elsewhere.⁶⁰

Note 60. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. Fig. 70 and p. 176.

Not only by Italian, but also by the Netherlandish engravings, was a knowledge of antiquity and Italian works disseminated in France. We recall the series of "Fragments Antiques", which J. A. Du Cerceau, as he states himself, had engraved after Leonard Thiry (Leonardo Theodorico or Leon Daven) and published in 1550 in Orleans. Further consider the "Petites Vues" likewise coming from Du Cerceau, which were engraved after the 47 engravings of Vredeman Vriese and appeared in Antwerp.

Engravings of antique or Italian works were scattered over all Europe in great numbers by the commercial houses of Antonio Lafreri, of Van Aelst, and of Salamanca. The engravings produced by French architects will be mentioned in Art. 50.

36. Bronze Plaques.

On the door in the court of the House Dupre Latarn at Valence, reproduced in Fig. 9,⁶² may be observed a scene at the left end, which occurs on an Italian plaque, now possessed by the author, and which Molinier ascribes to Fra Antonio da Brescia, representing a sleeper, two children and a satyr, accompanied by the word "virtus". (Fig. 8).⁶¹

Note 61. See Molinier, E. Les Bronzes, les Plaquettes. Paris. 1886. Vol. I. 122.

Note 62. From a photograph by Miesemant.

Gourajod, Molinier and others have mentioned the occurrence of representations after Italian plaques on various French monuments.

37. Wooden Models.

J. A. Du Cerceau not only studied drawings, which we no long-

longer know, but also wooden models, after which buildings were not executed, and that have since disappeared. This is proved by his drawing of a wooden model by Bramante for S. Peter's Church in Rome, which is now to be found in Munich.⁶³ If it is doubted that this drawing was by Du Cerceau, the accompanying French notes of the draftsman incontestably prove, that it comes from a French architect, and that chiefly concerns us here.

Note 63. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. p. 15-23.

Whatever influence may have been exerted by a never erected Italian composition, a more striking example could scarcely be given, than the influence exerted by the different designs for towers on the Church of S. Peter in Rome, upon the gateway towers of several French chateaus, -- like Ecouen, Anet, the Louvre etc.; the grouping of such gateway towers in the following Figs. 314 to 317 will show this in a striking manner.

The engraving of Du Cerceau, known under the name of "La Grande Chartreuse",⁶⁴ meanwhile permits the assumption of many subjective changes, that models or drawings for the completed facade of the Certosa at Pavia were known to him, since he does not give the unexecuted semicircular gable in the engraving, as it may be seen in a drawing by Cristoforo Scolari (in Archivio Municipale at Milan).

Note 64. Geymüller. Same work. Fig. 28.

38. Italian Marble Fountains.

Among the art works, that have contributed to make known Italian forms in France, are first of all to be mentioned the marble fountains. Montaignon⁶⁵ cites those of the Chateau at Gaillon, a gift of the republic of Venice,⁶⁶ likewise those of the Chateau of Nantouillet, which cardinal du Prat ordered after 1530 in Genoa, i.e. really in Carrara,⁶⁷ and finally the fragments of a fountain, that now serves in a chapel as a holy water basin, and which was formerly erected in the court of the Chateau at Oiron.

Note 65. "The fountains of this kind were then frequently Italian", says A. De Montaignon in "La Famille des Justes en Italie et en France". Paris. 1877. p. 39.

Note 66. Deville, A. Comptes de Depenses de la construction du Chateau de Gaillon etc. Paris. 1850. LXIII, LXVI, p. 317, 356, 363; -- also Barbet de Jouy. Musee National du Louvre. Descrip-

Description des Sculptures du Moyen-Age, de la Renaissance et des Temps modernes. Paris. 1873. No. 17.

Note 67. Anciennes Archives de l'Art Français. Paris. 1854. Vol. 3. p. 184 et seq.

39. Intarsias.

That certain works in wood were sometimes ordered in Italy is proved by the panel-work of the chapel in the Chateau La Bastie d'Urfe, made in Verona, and which will be mentioned later.

For the Chateau at Gaillon, embroideries on velvet were executed in 1509 in Milan after the drawings of the painter Pierre Boute (Bonte or Bonté). ⁶⁸

Note 68. Deville. p. 342.

40. Tombs ordered in Italy.

That tombs, to be set up afterwards, were ordered in Italy, two examples may be given.

When Louis XII desired to erect a monument for his grandfather Louis d'Orleans and Valentina of Milan, that should depart from the usual forms and be worthy of such ancestors, he had recourse to Milanese and Florentine artists, who executed the work in Genoa. This monument, a fragment from the Celestins at Paris, now in S. Denis, no longer shows any Gothic elements.

Antonio Rossellino made a tomb, ⁶⁹ which was sent to Lyons.

Note 69. Vasari. Life of A. Rossellino. Vol. 3. p. 94.

41. Casts from Italy.

Palustre speaks of the influence of the Cleopatra or Ariadne of the Vatican upon Germain Pilon, as a result of the casts from statues in the Vatican brought to Paris in 1543 by Primaticcio. ⁷⁰

Note 70. Barbet de Jouy. Etudes sur les Fontes du Primatice. Paris. 1859. -- Also Gaz. de Beaux Arts. 1894. p. 275.

That casts of architectural details were sometimes sent from Italy to France is shown by the original note below, ⁷¹ which also shows in regard to orthography and style, that even Frenchmen of quite modest position and of slight literary culture went to Italy. This note occurs on a drawing in the Cabinet of Copper Engravings at Paris, and it shows that as a rule, Palladio likewise belonged in this class; it further shows that Louis XIII had a cast made from a capital of the Pantheon in Rome and brought it to Paris.

Note 71. Cabinet des Estampes in Paris, Topographie de Rome. Vol. V b, 89; - "This is the palm to which is reduced the Corinthian order in the Pantheon, called La Rotunde, very accurately measured with geometrical instruments and scaffolds. It can be reduced by the module like Palladio. And likewise it may be measured and reduced by our French foot, that is called the king's foot, because the drawings have been corrected, and this is worthy of being preserved. This was measured when king Louis XIII had a cast made from the capital, and which is here at Paris. And scaffolds were used for this, and it was measured with the Roman palm." (See further Note 103).

The important influence exerted by sculptures and paintings brought from Italy is evident from the following examples.

In an alabaster relief in the Church of S. Jean at Troyes, that represents the Last Supper, the figure of Apollo in the niche is represented from Raphael's School of Athens.

The same Apollo, as well as that of the Belvedere in Rome (before its restoration), and a Venus pulling out a thorn, after Raphael, together with various small representations after plaques or engravings from the school of Mantegna, are to be found on the left hand doorway in the facade of the Church of S. Micheel at Dijon.

Vasari speaks in his book mentioned below,⁷² of many paintings sent to Paris by Florentine dealers.

Note 72. Life of Baccio. Vol. 4. p. 450, 455.

As of the frequent occurrence of recollections of Italian models in quite unexpected places in ornamentation, reference may be made to the console represented in Fig. 15, drawn from one of the transverse arches of the Grosse Horloge at Rouen. At the first glance may be recognized in the equestrian figures, in their seat, and in the movement of the horses etc., characteristic peculiarities, that are to be referred to models of Leonardo da Vinci.

The author has occasionally met with other examples of the influence exerted by Leonardo da Vinci upon decorative art. Thus two oval compositions in Chateau Ainay-le-Duc,⁷³ that represent a lion hunt and a cavalry battle. There further occur in the frescos of the Gallery of Henry II in Chateau Oiron (in the second and third bays) scenes from the Trojan war, which recall r

reminiscences of Leonardo's Battle of Anghiari or others of his equestrian figures. ⁷⁴

Note 73. Sauvageot. Vol. 4. Pl. 1.

Note 74. See drawing by H. Lametire. Salon of 1887. No. 4769.

A cavalry battle under the influence of Leonardo or of Bramante may be seen on an enameled mug from Limoges, ⁷⁵ and that the six cavalry battles engraved by Du Cerceau are executed after Bramante's compositions has been proved by the author in his already frequently mentioned work on the architects of the family Du Cerceau.

Note 75. In S. Kensington Museum. Represented in Lübke's Geschichte der Renaissance in Frankreich. 2nd edition. Stuttgart. 1884. p. 413.

43. Books and other Publications.

Among the masters in position to disseminate Leonardo's forms, either by suggestions in their own works or by the possession of drawings of Leonardo, may be mentioned Andrea Solario in Gaillon, who painted the chapel there, and Rustici in Fontainebleau. (Accounts from Oct. 1, 1531, to Dec. 31, 1532). ⁷⁶

Note 76. See Montaignon, A and G. Milanese. La Famille des Juste en Italie et en France. Paris. 1877. p. 17, 35.

Martin, the earliest French translator of Vitruvius, cites in his dedication of the Caesariano (under the name of Gallo in 1521); of the drawings made by Jean Goujon for Martin's translation, at least ten are directly inspired by those of Caesariano. Martin also cites the book of Alberti, the work of Fra Giocondo, "Of Architects", and that of Serlio. ⁷⁷

Note 77. In the edition of Vitruvius by Philandrier, dedicated to Francis I and printed in Strasburg in 1550, the illustrations are likewise mostly weak imitations of those of Caesariano; the same in the Strasburg Vitruvius of 1548.

Italian books were frequently published in France, especially in Lyons. ⁷⁸

Note 78. For example, Simeoni, G. Illustratione degli Epitafi e Medaglie antiche. Lyons. 1558.

The French translation of Serlio's Primo Libro d'Architettura. Paris. 1545.

Likewise that of Book 2 and his Extraordinario Libro d'Architettura. Lyons. 1551.

"The Dream of Polyphilus"⁷⁹ exerted a great influence on the arts of the Renaissance", says Audiat.⁸⁰ The beautiful French edition of this work is both an example of Italian influence and also of French freedom.

Note 79. First edition at Venice in 1499; 2nd edition in 1545. -- First French translation in 1546, the second (with some alterations) in 1561.

Note 80. See Audiat, L. Bernard Palissy. Study of his life and works. New edition. Paris. 1868. p. 128.

Benjamin Fillon brings passages from the "Dream of Polyphilus" into connection with the decorative system of Palissy's works, and Audiat reprints these passages and says, that they clearly prove that Palissy was inspired by the description of Francesco Colonna; his "Dream" is also occasionally called by Palissy his "delectable garden".⁸² It may be recalled here that Palissy is to be regarded as the inventor of "rustic vases".

Note 81. Audiat. p. 129, 130. -- These passages occur on p. 26, 30 and 71 of the French edition of Polyphilus of 1561.

Note 82. Palissy, B. Le Recepte veritable. In the edition of his works by A. France (Paris. 1880), p. 12; "I know that certain ignorant enemies of virtue and slanderers will say, that the design of this garden is merely a dream, and will perhaps wish to compare it with the "Dream of Polyphilus".

44. Lectures on Vitruvius.

Fra Giocondo lectured on Vitruvius in France to a certain S Seigneur Philibert,⁸³ whose secretary he was for a long time, and it is well known that the famous Budaëus felicitated himself on having such a master as Fra Giocondo to explain Vitruvius.

Note 83. Baschet, A. Les Archives de la Serenissime Republique de Venise. Souvenirs d'une Mission. Paris and Venice. 1870. (Dispatches of Francesco Morosini from Nov. 18, 1504 to the Council of Ten).

45. Travels and Studies in Italy.

With the end of the liking for Gothic, the need in France for a different conception of life and art became ever stronger, and by means of the Italian campaigns was developed the clear consciousness, that Italy offered this new conception. Herein have we already found the first condition for the accep-

acceptance of the Renaissance in France. The influence exerted both upon laymen and nobles as well as on architects and other artists, was of unusually great importance, but seems to have been actually forgotten by many writers.

46. Influence upon Nobles and Paymen.

Concerning the impressions produced on Charles VIII by Naples, Benjamin Fillon contributes the following fragment of a letter:-- "Before the king entered the city (Capua), he had spent a night in Poggio Reale, which is a summer residence built by king Ferrand and his predecessors, and which is of such a kind, that neither the fine speaking of Alain Chartier, the acuteness of master Hans of Meun, nor the hand of Fouquet, could describe, write of it or paint it".

Note 84. Archives de l'Art Francais, publies sous la direction de Ph. de Chennevières. Paris. Vol. I. p. 275.

Cardinal Bricconnet writes to queen Anne of Brittany:-- "Madame, I wish that you had seen this city and the beautiful things within it, for it is an earthly paradise. The king, in his grace, desired to have me shown everything within and without the city, when I came from Florence, and I assure you, that the beauty of this place is an inconceivable thing, well supplied with all worldly pleasures. They were desired there by the king. At this hour, he prizes neither Amboise, nor the cities, that he has beyond (the mountains).

The impression received by the king himself may be seen by the following lines.

Charles VIII wrote to Pierre de Bourbon from Naples on March 28, 1495:-- "Moreover you cannot believe what beautiful gardens I have in this city; for upon my word, it appears that only Adam and Eve are lacking to make of this an earthly paradise, so beautiful are they and full of all good and rare things - . Besides, I have in this land better painters, and of these I will send, in order to make as many beautiful panels (planchiers", properly floors, but here paintings on wood), and the paintings from Beauce, from Lyons, and from other places in France are in nothing to be compared with these here; hence I will supply myself therewith (i.e. with painters), and will take them with me, for what can be done in Amboise". ⁸⁵

Note 85. Archives de l'Art Francaise. p. 274.

An idea of the views then held by another class of Frenchmen may be derived from a poem of J. Lemaire (1503), wherein Painting laments the death of Louis of Luxemburg, Prince of Altemore.

"Then my modern pupils, care for
My beautiful children, fed from my breast;
Thou, leonardo da Vinci, who had supernal grace,
Gentle Bellini, whose fates are eternal,
And Perugino, who mixes colors so well.
And thou, Jean Hay, thy noble hand rests.
Come to view nature with Jean de Paris,
To give him shelter and hope - - . 86

Note 86. Charvet, E.L.G. Jehan Perreal. p. 90.

47. Influence upon Architects and Artists.

Whoever is able to realize but moderately a conception of the vast sum of the efforts required to introduce a new art style into such a great country as France, even if but slowly, must admit, that such a transformation was only possible, when on the one hand a great number of Frenchmen went to Italy, in order to learn to know the new art forms there, and that on the other, a likewise considerable number of Italians of all grades of art helped to disseminate these forms in France. The modern school, which fancies that this was not necessary, lives in sweet illusions.

That the number of Frenchmen, who went to Italy on account of study was considerable, results from the following evidence.

In the year 1559, Du perceau wrote in a dedication to the king:- "Your subjects will henceforth no longer have reason to travel in foreign lands, in order to see better composed buildings (than those contained in his works) - +, and your majesty will no longer have need for resorting to foreign workmen."⁸⁷

Note 87. Livre d'Architecture. Paris. 1559.

Jean Perreal, painter and architect of the king, made numerous journeys to Italy.⁸⁸ In March, 1509, Louis XII took him along in his campaign against the Venetians. Having returned, he wrote on Nov. 15 to Marguerite of Austria, that he had then changed his project for her, at least in regard to the antique portions, which he had obtained in the countries of Italy.

Note 88. Charvet, p. 39; also p. 51;-- "have changed my drawings, at least of the antique things, which I have had in part

from Italy, to make of all beautiful flowers a bouquet, then I have shown the cast - - - and now make the patrons - - ".

Concerning the design for the Church of Brou near Bourg, which Marguerite of Austria ordered from her painter, Jean Perreel from Paris, the latter writes on January 4, 1511, that he will make use of everything, which he has seen in monasteries in Italy, where are the finest in the world. ⁸⁹

Note 89. Chauvet. p. 89; "Madam, in regard to a terrace for the church, I shall be very happy to busy myself on it, and I will aid myself by all that I have seen of convents in Italy, where are the finest in the world, - - ".

Until now, no one has sought to deny that Philibert de l'Orme and Jean Bullant made studies in Italy, since these architects assert this themselves. But on the contrary, especially in recent times, it has been readily assumed that Jean Goujon and Pierre Lescot were never in Italy. It was proved in the author's Essay on the two Du Cerceaus, that the elder master of this name sojourned for a considerable period in Italy between 1530 and 1533. I have also now succeeded in deducing from the words of Goujon himself the proof, that both he and also Lescot acquired the knowledge by studies in Italy, to which they owed in great part their prominent position. ⁹⁰

Note 90. See Notes on this matter in Chapter 5.

Something upon the thoughts of French architects on Italian conditions is deduced from the following statement by one of the most important masters.

Jean Goujon, speaking as an architect, says of Raphael, Mantegna, Michelangelo, Antonio da Sangallo and Bramante, that after they had mastered geometry and perspective by labor and constant practice, they had pursued this noble object (architecture) with such remarkable enjoyment, that their undying fame spread over the entire extent of the earth. ⁹¹

Note 91. "They so singularly delighted in pursuing this noble subject" etc. Address of Goujon in Martin's translation of Vitruvius in 1547. Also reprinted in Berty, H. Les grands Architectes Francais de la Renaissance etc. Paris. 1860. p. 821. -- The words of Goujon in this passage permit the idea of a similar statement by Serlio.

It would be a great error to believe, that the French master-

masters in the 16 th century only went to Italy for the sake of the antique remains, and not for the works of modern masters. concerning the Corinthian capital, Goujon says:- " - - one actually reads in the text of Vitruvius, that one should so consider it; yet this is not the opinion of some good modern masters". In his illustrations, he takes this view into account, and finds it manifestly more correct and harmonizing better with the antique examples. According to what Goujon wrote concerning the fame of a series of Italian masters, it is not to be assumed, that in mentioning "good modern masters," he only thought of Lescot and De l'Orme.

The domain then taken in consideration by French architects in their studies in Italy extended to everything necessary, w when one has to extend an entirely new art tendency over the entire realm of life and art. Nothing affords a better idea of it, than the great number and the diversity of the works, which Du Cerceau published.

That according to the aim pursued, many limited their studies chiefly to certain subjects, is conceivable, just as the frequently proceeded therein in the same manner as we do today, i.e. that they drew the general design at a small scale, some portions at a larger one, and details at a still greater scale. Fig. 10 ⁹² shows the pen drawing by a Frenchman of a twisted marble column, which then stood near the altar of the old Church of S. Peter, and is alleged to have been brought from Jerusalem. An entire series of such studies, which may be recognized by the delicate, parsley-like leaves, as in the preceding case, are to be found in a volume, that successively belonged to Dufourny, Callet and Destailleur, then passing from the last collection to the Berlin Museum. Since a similar treatment of the acanthus may occasionally be seen in the court of Hotel garnavalet and in the Hall of the Caryatids of the Louvre, these studies must be due to a contemporary of Goujon, who made his studies in Italy about 1530.

Note 92. From Cabinet des Estampes. Paris. Vol. H d, 193.

That French architects, who studied in Italy not only studied antique ruins or already completed monuments enjoying a certain fame, but also those still under construction, is shown among others by Du Cerceau's drawing of the plan for a portion

of Palace Farnese at Rome in its arrangement as first begun, as it appeared between 1530 and 1533, just before the accession of Paul III. ⁹³

Note 93. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. p. 26.

48. Fragments.

Instructive is the collection of 61 drawings, that are to be found on the 14 places executed by Du Cerceau in Italy. ⁹⁵ (Now in the Royal Library at Munich). They are divided among the following monuments.

Note 94. From Cabinet des Estampes. Paris. Vol. B & ref.

Note 95. Further information there; p. 15 et seq.

S. Peter in Rome, various sketches	11
Palace Cancellaria by Bramante	29
Palace built for Raphael by Bramante	1
Palace dall'Aquila built for Raphael	7 ?
Palace Farnese	1
Baths of Diocletian	6
House (Casa) of Tour-Sanguine	1
Antique buildings without plans	2
Modern buildings without plans	2
Inscriptions	1
	<hr/> 61

H. Lechavelier-Chevignard in Paris possesses a greater number of studies, especially of the monuments of Rome and of various columns, which are possibly worthy of De l'Orme, ⁹⁶ and Destailleur owned three volumes of careful drawings of the Baths of Diocletian, that were made by a French speaking architect in the 16 th century, and are now to be found in the Cabinet of Copperplate Engravings at Berlin.

Note 96. Three of these drawings are published in Geymüller. Documents Inédits sur les Thermes d'Agrippa, le Pantheon et les Thermes de Diocletian. Lausanne. 1884. Figs. 5, 6, 8.

That many French architects have endeavored to partly restore the ruins existing in Rome, or to compose backgrounds for representations of the antique, is shown by two beautiful drawings in the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris, which are reproduced in Figs. 11 ⁹⁴ and 3; they date from about 1535 and are executed with the quill pen in bistre in the style of Du Cerceau, but are rather better than the drawings of the latter.

That French architects have further sought to become acquainted with the theories of modern Italian masters, as they were frequently expressed only in manuscripts on art, is not to be doubted. The connection between Fig. 13,⁹⁷ in which is reproduced the method of De l'Orme for obtaining certain proportions for a church, and Fig. 12,⁹⁸ which is found in the then unprinted Trattato (Treatise) of Francesco di Giorgio, is a clear proof of this, whether De L'Orme saw the original itself or a copy of it in the hands of another, or whether this rule had become known to Italian architects in his time.

Note 97. Reproduction from Giorgio, F. di. Trattato d'Architettura civile e militare. Pub. C. Promis. Turin. 1841.

Note 98. Reproduction from De l'Orme. Le premier Tome d'Architecture. Paris. 1567. Book 8, p. 245.

The Paris architect Etienne du Perac remained at least 18 years in Rome, and also pursued other aims. Probably on friendly terms with Michelangelo, he executed during the year of the death of the latter (1564) three large engravings, representing his model for the Church of S. Peter at Rome, and published in 1575 in Rome his Vestigi dell' Antichita di Roma. In two manuscripts on the monuments of Rome, he endeavored to restore them by the aid of archaeological knowledge and other means.⁹⁹

Note 99. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. Manuscrits, fonds F Francais, 382; Illustration des Fragments antiques etc. "Illustration of the antique fragments belonging to the religion and ceremonies of the ancient Romans, drawn and collected from the antique marbles found in Rome and in other places in Italy, with their explanation by Estienne du Perac, parisian. Book first, containing several figures of idols, obelisks, and hieroglyphic inscriptions of the ancient Egyptians. p. 1-31. Book second, containing several temples, gods, altars and sacrifices - - ". p. 32-105.

A second copy is to be found in the Louvre, No. d'Ordre 26, 475 et seq., with 106 drawings, is much better drawn than the preceding, and it therefore probably is the original.

Another Frenchman of the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century, several drawings by whom are to be found in Paris,¹⁰⁰ studied the monuments of Florence; the Uffizi,

the chapel in the choir of S. Annunziata, S. Michele, Gaetano, and also the Baptistery.

Note 100. In Cabinet des Estampes. Paris. Vol. V b, 41.

We have thus come to the 17th century. As the following passages show, the same tendency continued, and it frequently lasted among French architects until the present time.

De Chambray ¹⁰¹ had in 1640 a commission to open the way from Italy to France for all of the most distinguished architects --, and he writes that it was easy for them to attract a great number, among those coryphoruses being the famous and unique Monsieur le Poussin --.

Note 101. Preface to his Parallele de l'Architecture antique avec la moderne. Paris. 1650.

Concerning this, the cabinet-maker and engineer Adam Philippon writes, after he had been for several years in the service of Urban VIII and of other ecclesiastical princes, --- Louis XIII sent everywhere in Italy, seeking the persons most famous in painting, in sculpture, and in other arts required for the decorations of his palaces; he was himself selected chiefly for the commission to send many artisans from Rome to Paris, as well as a great number of reliefs and antique figures. ¹⁰²

Note 102. See Destailleur, H. Notices sur quelques Artistes Francais. Paris. 1863. p. 68, 70.

Beneath a portrait of Philippon may be read:--

"Friends, with good heart I give you

All that I have learned at Rome, --"

De Chambray at the same time had a commission to have modeled many of the most excellent works in sculpture and architecture; but he mentions only the capitals of a column and a pilaster from the interior of the Pantheon. ¹⁰³.

Note 103. Destailleur. p. 67. Also see Art. 41.

A colony of French artisans under the charge of De Noyers, Lord de Dargu, was sent to Italy in the time of Richelieu. ¹⁰⁴

Note 104. Verbal statement of M. Destailleur.

During this period (1650) likewise falls the work of de Chambray on the comparison of antique and modern architecture, and the collection of the ten principal authors, who wrote on architecture with a preface dedicated to Dargu. ¹⁰⁵.

Note 105. Chambray, R. F. de. Parallele etc. Paris. 1650.

Finally in the year 1666, Charles Errard, as the first Director of the Academie de France at Rome, started for the first time for the eternal city with 12 pupils:- 6 painters, 4 sculptors and 2 architects, "all of the Roman Catholic apostolic faith." 106

Note 106. Merson, O. Academie de France a Rome, in Grande Encyclopedie of Joseph Baer & Co.

In the year 1674, Desgodetz was pensioner of the king at the Academie de Rome, and republished in 1682 his famous work on the antique buildings of Rome. 107

Note 107. His original drawings are still preserved in the Bibliotheque National, Depot de Manuscrits, fonds Colbert.

49. Influence of certain Italian Buildings.

In order to afford proof, that an Italian monument exercised a very definite influence upon a French building, without the appearance of the latter being in anywise similar to that of the original, reference is made to the former Bureau des finances at Rouen, placed opposite the cathedral, and at present in great part concealed beneath the suspended sign of a dealer in clothing. The lower half of the facade already shown in Fig. 2 is manifestly a translation of the internal system of Bramante's famous Sacristy of S. Maria presso S. Satiro at Milan, which is reproduced in Fig. 1 for comparison. The latter composition is itself so characteristic for Italy, that in this case there can be no doubt for connoisseurs in regard to its direct influence upon the building in Rouen. The transformation is quite complete, partly required by the low height of the French stories, and the upper half of the facade is an independent composition of its architect with detail forms, which are adapted as well as possible to those of the lower portion. Just as independent is the treatment of the vertical piers in the middle and on the angles of the building and their subdivision by projecting statues and canopies. Yet the influence of the Milanese building upon that at Rouen is no less absolute, and the whole is even a compromise between the style of composition and the taste of an Italian on the one hand and of a Frenchman on the other.

Of the manner in which many French compositions were formed

and grew, when they sprung from an Italian model, whether this were a building, a drawing, a copper engraving or a model, numerous works of the elder Du Cerceau afford an instructive illustration, which the author has described in his already frequently mentioned monograph on the family of architects of that name, on "his 'the elder Du Cerceau) art of working".¹⁰⁸

Note 108. In Les Du Cerceau. p. 192, 335.

The ground story of a House in Rue Juiverie at Lyons, represented in Fig. 14, shows the style and manner in which the rusticated ground story of a Florentine palace, with its great round-arched doorways and windows beginning at the height of the impost, was transformed for French conditions.

The design of the ground plan of a Chateau by Leonardo da Vinci, already mentioned in Art. 32 (Fig. 16),¹¹⁰ as well as the symmetry of the arrangement of Chateau Le Verger in Anjou (Fig. 17),¹¹¹ must have been partly intended to recall the famous Castle at Milan, which was then considered the most beautiful palace.

Note 110. Geymüller. Leonardo da Vince as architect. In R Richter's Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci. London. 1883.

Note 111. Reproduced from Israil Sylvestre. I - 148.

The idea of constructing columns of rusticated materials, smaller than the half diameter of the column, instead of composing them of actual rusticated drums, is carried out on the Maison Blanche in the park at Caillon (Fig. 245), but may already be seen executed on Formigine's Palace Fantuzzi at Bologna.

Even for parts of buildings, whose use does not occur in Italy, Italian models are observed. Thus for the large and rich windows in the roofs, termed dormer windows and so very characteristic for the early French Renaissance, one finds in Italy a number of doors or windows in accordance with which, the basal idea of the exterior of the dormer window follows with its translation into Milanese details in the style of Bramante, and which experienced richer use and development.

Stepped crowning entablatures, whose transitions are formed by curved half pediments, are observed on the portico of S. Maria de Miracoli at Brescia. Another form with a pediment in the middle is shown by the second altar on the left in S.

Corona at Vicenza; a similar one with horizontal double consoles instead of the pediment and with a candelabra-like vase in the centre is to be found on a drawing of Peruzzi in the Uffizi at Florence, and the same form, excepting that it is somewhat differently shaped at the sides, may be seen on an engraving representing a street, erroneously attributed to Bramante. In Chapel Colleoni at Bergamo is found an addition with a segmental pediment above a pointed gable, and likewise must the attention be attracted to the Monument of Filippo Lippi at Spoleto, erected by Lorenzo the Magnificent. The Gate at Fano, a round arch enclosed by pilasters, upon whose entablature rests a lower attic with a semicircular pediment, accompanied by kneeling figures at the sides, shows in the details of its composition a striking accordance with many French dormer windows. Still closer is the relation with the window enclosures of Chapel Colleoni at Bologna.

Among the numerous examples from the domain of decoration should be mentioned the trophies of Du Cerceau; those are mostly likewise inspired by Italian models, -- drawings and engravings from the school of the Loggias, -- or by executed works, like the panels of the pilasters on the Tomb of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti by Giovanni Cristoforo Romano in the Certosa near Pavia, and innumerable others. That the charming grotesques, two volumes of which were published by Du Cerceau, were engraved in part after engravings by Nicoletto da Modena and Aenea Vico, or were imitated from the executed decorations in Fontainebleau and those of the Chateau at Monceaux, built and decorated by Primaticcio, has already been proved by the author. ¹¹²

Note 112. Les Du. Cerceau. Figs. 29, 30; an ideal city.

A niche in Hotel Lallemant at Bourges, which is accompanied by pilasters at the sides and by a semicircular pediment with acroterias at the sides and apex, with a shell, and appearing to be decorated by a pedestal-like "predella" and a console-like support, ¹¹³ is in proportions as well as in ornamental-general effect directly imitated from one of the innumerable Tuscan works of this kind from the period of Della Robbia.

Note 113. Represented in Planat. Vol. 6. p. 379.

The three following examples have even in cases, where one

after superficial consideration, one might least of all suspect an Italian motive, yet such may be proved. Just as on the angles of Italian palaces one may sometimes see shields of arms employed, as for example by De L'Orme on the outer angles of the high frieze on Chateau of S. Maur (Fig. 126) and on the angle pavilions of Chateau Madrid (Fig. 31); likewise are found shields in Florentine style on the angles of the frieze on Maison Blanche at Gaillon. (Fig. 248).

An influence of a different kind may be perceived in the following. On the facade of the Abbey Church of S. Amand near Valenciennes (1653) are to be found great sculptured figure-compositions in spaces, whose architectural forms are created by the subdivision of the facade, and which by the help of imitative perspective treatment appear to extend in the form of spacious and deep porticos; there occur in them real detached pillars in perspective form. One stands here before a further development of the imitation perspective of Bramante in S. Maria presso S. Satiro at Milan and that of Donatello in the ambos of S. Lorenzo at Florence, or the sculptures in the choir of S. Stefano da Sesto at Pavia.

As one example among many others, of the close relationship in the development of the style of Vignola in France and in Italy, may be mentioned the system of facades in the Place des Victoires at Paris, due to J. Hardouin Mansart; this is almost an exchange of that of the nearly 100 years earlier Palace Magnani Guidotti on Place Rossini at Bologna by Domenico Tibaldi.

The influence of other important Italian monuments will be mentioned later in treating the influence exerted by the different masters.

50. Influence of certain Italian Masters:- Bramante.

No Italian architect has indeed exerted so manifold an influence on French architecture as Bramante, because:--

1. During the period of Louis XII and Francis I by his own buildings in Lombardy, or by others influenced by him.

2. During the style of Henry II and on the Neo-Rustic of the 16th century.

3. By his pupils; by Raphael and Giulio Romano, who were supporters of his "last" manner, like sometimes Primaticcio.

3. By the publication of the third book of Serlio.

As the author has already proved in other places,¹¹⁴ Du Cerceau himself was inclined in such measure to the forms and architectural expression of the "last" manner of Bramante, that he did it offhand, so to speak, and that it always flowed from the point of his pen in the most rapid improvisation. In order to produce conviction of this, one must indeed recognize the studies of Bramante as unexpected or unfinished works, just as the 15 volumes of Du Cerceau's original drawings.

Note 114. Les Du Cerceau. p. 5, 9, 16, 230.

What happened to this master, concluding from various points of view, was likewise the case with several principal masters of that time. For example, the drawings and perspective sketches of the "nicchione" of Bramante should be mentioned, also with the circular stairway later omitted by Michelangelo, which belongs to a French contemporary of Du Cerceau.¹¹⁵

Note 115. Royal collection at Windsor. Vol. 12, Pl. 139.

Further let two buildings be considered, of which frequent mention has been made since Palustre, and in which it is believed can be proved, that they form an exception, especially from Italian influence. One is the Chapel of S. Sacrement in the Cathedral at Vannes, erected as a circular structure with two orders on the north side, built and finished in 1537 at the cost of the canon Jean Daniele from Brittany, who lived in Rome as an official. Palustre, who appears to have first called attention to this building, makes especially prominent, that the building is executed in the style, which Sangallo gave to Palace Farnese.¹¹⁶ But this is incorrect, according to the illustration given by him. The architecture of the aisles by Bramante for S. Peter in Rome, as it was for a time to be seen along the south arm of the cross and occurs in many studies by Antonio da Sangallo and in his model, has here clearly and substantially served as a model for the orders, arched windows and tabernacles.

Note 116. Palustre. La Renaissance en France. Paris. Since 1879. Part 11; Brittany; p. 17-21; further, Palustre. Architecture de la Renaissance. Paris. 1892. p. 258.

concerning the second building in question here, Palustre told me in June, 1891, that he had discovered it in Beaulieu,

about 5 leagues from Vannes. Its architecture is imitated from that of the Cancellaria in Rome. I have unfortunately never seen a representation of it and therefore cannot decide, whether this similarity is greater, than that found by him in the preceding case.

Especially prominent was the influence of Bramante's S. Peter. Besides the more or less recognizable and generally known influence of this monument upon numerous domed churches, as on the Church of the Invalids, on the dome of Church of Val de Grace, etc., there is an earlier series of cases, in which either a detail or a special arrangement of the Vatican Basilica or of a model of the same has influenced a French monument. This influence upon the elder Du Cerceau has been sufficiently proved by the author in another place,¹¹⁷ and as Du Cerceau preceded his great contemporaries Goujon, Bullant, Lescot and De l'Orme also followed; the likewise learned to know these interesting works during their study periods in Italy. The incidents at S. Peter's church and the occasional views relating to its completion formed in the 16th and 17th centuries the climax of architectural interest of all Europe, at least of the Roman Catholic portion.

Note 117. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. Chapters 1 and 2.

In the composition of the principal gate at Chateau La Tour d'Aigues (Fig. 19¹¹⁸) is unmistakably an echo of an unexecuted design for S. Peter.¹¹⁹ A colossal order, which encloses two smaller ones in the manner of those given, with the plain pediment above, is already so rare in both Italy and France, that one is compelled to deem the central part of the facade with the loggia as intended for the blessing.

Note 118. From a drawing of Lancelot in Magasin Pittoresque.

Note 119. Geymüller. Die ursprüngliche Entwürfe für S. Peter in Rom.

Another explanation of the middle portion of the facade for S. Peter after Bramante's model is to be seen in an engraving by Du Cerceau from the series of Temples, which is reproduced in Fig. 18.¹²⁰ That this is a caprice after a model or a design of Bramante, has been proved by the author elsewhere,¹²¹ and it should only be remembered concerning it, that there is among the earliest engravings by Du Cerceau in the Cabinet d

of Copper Engravings at Basle a second variation of this model, as well as two drawings in the Foulc and Destailleur collections at Paris.¹²²

Note 120. From Du Cerceau's series "les Temples".

Note 121. Die Ursprüngliche Entwürfe etc. p. 187.

Note 122. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. p. 16 and Figs. 3-5.

The famous former Sepulchral Chapel of the Valois at S. Denis (Fig. 21¹²³), designed and begun by Primaticcio after the death of Henry II, is entirely based upon recollections of the designs and models for S. Peter, that were never executed, or on parts again removed. The exterior recalls on the one hand the dome on the model of Sangallo (Fig. 20¹²⁴), also in part the subdivision of the aisles, especially of those, in which the bays corresponding to the internal piers projected somewhat; the internal architecture of the side chapels (Figs. 45 and 197) is based entirely on those of similar aisles for S. Peter.¹²⁵ The location of these chapels at the end of the left transept of the Abbey Church at S. Denis, exactly like that of the two Early Christian circular tombs adjoining S. Peter in Rome, also makes known the intention of here joining the most famous modern building of Christendom. One of these circular buildings was called "Chapel of the Kings of France", and after it was removed, this name was transferred to the recently commenced south transept of S. Peter. This lay directly beside it and was the only part, on which men had commenced to erect that aisle of Bramante, whose influence on the Chapel of the Valois was previously mentioned.

Note 123. From Oeuvre de Jean Marot. Vol. 1. p. 105.

Note 124. From an engraving by A. Labacco. (16 th century).

Note 125. Compare Die ursprüngliche Entwürfe etc.

The great Doric order on the Church of S. Aignan at Chartres, in the treatment of the capitals, is clearly imitated from the again omitted order of Bramante for S. Peter. Likewise has the coffering of the dome arches by Bramante found an echo in the subdivision of the decoration of the vault over the staircase of Henry II in the Louvre at Paris, and how the never executed designs for the towers of S. Peter influenced the motives of the gateways of French chateaus is shown by Figs. 314 to 317.

In one of the medallions beneath the urn in S. Denis, which contains the heart of Francis I, is to be seen an inaccurate fragmentary representation of the building, though apparently taken from S. Peter, as it appeared about 1540, with the crane, the obelisk etc.; in the foreground are the sculpturs looking at a *torso* of Venus, painters copying antique statues, geographers with a globe etc.

As Du Cerceau had already measured the models of Bramante and of Raphael for S. Peter's, as then Etienne du Ferac later (1564) engraved the model of Michelangelo for S. Peter's, so Lemercier, the architect of Richelieu, likewise engraved a model for S. Peter's with all its details. ¹²⁶ Similarly, Jean Marot engraved all the drawings of the church of S. Peter, which were made in 1659 by Jacques Tarade, Architect and Engraver of the king, after which a model in relief was made at Versailles, that Louis XIV inspected several times.

Note 126. Verbal communication of M. Destailleur.

Other indications of the influence exerted by S. Peter's upon French architecture will again be found in the next Article (51). The influence of Bramante's architectural system of the "rhythmic bay" will later be thoroughly discussed in a separate Chapter, as well as the influence exerted by his scarcely commenced Palace S. Biagio upon the Neo-Rusticated, which was very common in France, and as men long believed should be accepted.

51. Raphael.

How the decoration of Raphael's Loggias were influential, has already been stated in Art. 38. But aside from this, certain other architectural works of the same master attracted the attention of French architects and left vestiges in their works.

That of the Palace dell'Aquila built by him at Rome only a part of the plan is known by a drawing of Du Cerceau, has already been stated, as well as the influence mentioned, that the facade of this Palace exerted on several compositions of the master last mentioned. ¹²⁷ But this palace has also found imitators in France by an arrangement characteristic of his facade, i.e., niches forming in the upper story a continuation of the supports in the lower story, accented there by half c

columns. ¹²⁸ Thus the arrangement on the Petit Cloître des Augustins at Toulouse, ¹²⁹ where pilasters enclose the niches in which stand busts, are to be referred to the Palace of Raphael, aside from the entirely free transformation. This arrangement, bordering on "experiments with extravagances", appears to have also found employment on the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, where the laudable though scarcely happy intention is carried out, of likewise connecting the niches with the projecting lower supports by an enclosure in relief.

Note 127. Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau. p. 25; Figs. 8, 9.

Note 128. Geymüller. Raffaello studiato come Architetto. Milan. 1884. Fig. 31.

Note 129. Represented in Planat, 6th year, p. 372.

Whether the arrangement of niches with Gothic-like canopies, as frequently occurs above the pilasters of the ground story during the period of Louis XII and Francis I, for example, on the gateway of the Chateau at Nantouillet (Fig. 28) and on other even more strongly expressed examples, should be referred to Raphael's façade motive, we are unable to decide.

The influence of Raphael's work on the Church of S. Peter in Rome upon French art can be demonstrated. For on the one hand compare the already mentioned Chapelle des Valois at S. Denis with the drawings for the aisles for S. Peter's, and on the other with the criticism of Raphael's model expressed about 1515 in the memorial of Antonio Sangallo, ¹³⁰ it indeed becomes a certainty, that this mausoleum in S. Denis is repeatedly influenced by the ideas of Raphael for the treatment of the ends of the transepts of S. Peter's.

Note 130. Geymüller. Die ursprüngliche Entwürfe etc. p. 293 et seq., especially section 2 of the Memorial.

52. Michelangelo.

That influence exerted by Michelangelo's dome of S. Peter's upon Val de Grace and the dome of the Invalids at Paris (on the former through the engraving of Du Perac) will here be but temporarily recalled. The influence proceeding from his colossal order on the exterior of S. Peter's will be taken up again in the Chapter devoted to this element in composition.

The three pediments set within each other on Lemer cier's Pavillon de l'Horloge in the Louvre at Paris apparently are

under the influence of similar models of Michelangelo in the Laurenziana. Similarly may be recognized the influence of this master in the Tomb of Henry II, especially on the doors at the end.

Of the many Italians living in Lyons, those coming from Bucca built a chapel in the Church d'Observance, whose design is alleged to have been by Michelangelo.¹³¹ Biard the Elder, his pupil, executed the stone statue of Henry IV above the doorway of the Hotel de Ville at Paris, and Etienne du Berac, the Parisian architect and archaeologist previously mentioned, engraved on several plates the model of Michelangelo for the the Church of S. Peter at Rome. Michel Adam, Nicolas Bachellier and others are reputed as his pupils.

Note 131. Charvet, L. Jehan Perreal, p. 15. (Charvet mentions the drawings published by the Societe d'Architecture in Lyons in 1846).

By Antoine Le Pautre (1621-1682) were published several designs by Michelangelo, after Vignola's Five Orders, and in 1691 Pierre Le Pautre published the book "L'Architecture de Vignole et de Michelangelo" with the commentaries of Daviler.

53. Vignola and Palladio.

The influence proceeding from both these artists is so well known, that in this place merely the following may be mentioned.

In his Treatise on the Orders, "translated from Palladio", (1645), Le Muet says:--"The high estimation of the book of P. Palladio, that famous Italian architect - -". Mauclerc adds on the title page of his very beautifully engraved Treatise on architecture according to Vitruvius:-¹³² "In which he has harmonized the various dimensions and proportions of the famous architects, Scamozzi, Palladio and Vignola".

Note 132. Jean Mauclerc, Sieur de Lignerons-Mauclerc, La Brossardiere et Romanquis, Traite d'Architecture suivant Vitruve. Paris. 1648. "Mis en lumiere" by Pierre Daret, engraver in ordinary to the king. (Library of Ecole des Beaux Arts. A, I, 5).

The esteem enjoyed by Palladio in France is proved by the following passage. Sauval writes of Lemercier, the architect of Richelieu:- "If he was not the Vitruvius of his time, he

was at least its Palladio - -, he made himself famous in all Europe, especially in Rome, which is the seat of the fine arts. From youth upwards has he examined and measured all still existing works of the ancients - -. Of the direct traditional influence, that certain works by Palladio and by Vignola have exerted upon instruction in architecture in France from Louis XIII until our time, nothing further will be said here. It is only noted, that even in the year 1858 during his engraving studies at the Ecole Centrale at Paris, the author was required to draw the columnar orders chiefly according to Vignola.

54. Italians in France.

We now pass to the causes last mentioned in Art. 33, by which Italian and antique forms were disseminated in France; to the Italian masters of different grades (from the mere scarpellino upwards), who remained in France for a longer or shorter time. A correct estimation of their activity is rather difficult, not only on account of traditional statements, that men have sometimes taken the trouble to credit without hesitation, but since nothing is to be doubted, that the modern school of the tendency of Palustre frequently proceeds from incorrect conceptions in their endeavor to continually approximate nearer to the truth, and it therefore often errs in the opposite direction. I admit freely, that my own opinion of the activity of Italian masters in France has suffered numerous changes. Yet I finally reached the opinion, that an accurate understanding of the conditions under which they worked is much more difficult, than is usually assumed, and that no certainty exists, that until now has there ever been produced anywhere any sufficient representation of the varied ways in which these masters may have been active. At this time I am inclined to assume, that the Italian artists may perhaps have taken part in the designing of certain buildings, and indeed even in cases, where a few years since, this participation would have appeared at least very improbable.

Unfortunately efforts and feelings have frequently passed into the treatment of these questions, that do not belong there, affecting one's own decision and carrying that of the victor into exaggeration. This is to be lamented in a high

these absorbing subjects.

In order to obtain equal distribution of the materials in the present volume and to avoid frequent repetitions, the author has endeavored to limit the number of illustrations to those which are essential to the understanding of these on architecture; a complete and consecutive collection of these circumstances and the proof of intimate connection of these and the present subject is to be found in the course of a monograph of important extent.

Therefore this will be chiefly referred to some places in the text. It is the intention of the author to publish in the following.

1. Chapter 4 on the origin of the style of Louis XII and
 Chapter I.

2. The two chief centers of the Italo-French connection in the schools of Amboise-Valentin and of Fontainebleau, and also the earlier centers of this union, which proceeded from the former.

3. The names of the French, Domenico di Cortona (Bossard), and the family of the artist (after the name of Paris), Primaticcio and Verrio.

4. The history of the later-Italian at Paris and the introduction of the Italian style into France.

5. The final conclusions of the present volume. When Giovanni Verrio began the execution of Primaticcio as superintendent of the royal buildings in the 1550s as the first, the style of the Italian was not yet fully established in France, even to exert a direct influence upon the arts of France, but this may be traced in certain respects.

Yet we must rather believe, that the number of architectural forms introduced into France by Italians of all kinds was not so great as is generally supposed.

At least it appears to us, that the advent of 1561 coincided with the Giordano and Verrio as their need as architects in the year 1555 was of equal importance. It will appear from the following that the Italian style was not yet fully established in France, even to exert a direct influence upon the arts of France, but this may be traced in certain respects.

degree, for these questions are sufficiently difficult without these disturbing additions.

In order to obtain equal distribution of the materials in the present volumes and to avoid frequent repetitions, the author has abandoned the collection of everything relating to the works of Italian architects in France and the influence of these on architecture; a complete and conclusive representation of these circumstances and the proof of intimate connection of French and Italian architecture would of itself require a monograph of important extent.

Therefore this will be chiefly relegated to some places in this volume, in which the discussion of the matters in question most naturally occurs, and especially in the following.

1. Chapter 4 on the origin of the style of Louis XII and Francis I.

2. The two chief centres of the Italo-French combination in the schools of Amboise-Gaillon and of Fontainebleau, and also the smaller centres of this union, which proceeded from the former.

3. The notes on Fra Giocondo, Domenico da Cortona (Boccador), the family of the Giusti (called the Juste of Tours), Primaticcio and Serlio.

4. The history of the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris and the introduction of the Italian garden into France.

5. The final conclusions of the present volume.

When Destailleur regards the appointment of Primaticcio as superintendent of the royal buildings in the 1559 as the true date, from which the Italians, who were already well established in France, began to exert a direct influence upon the arts of France,¹³³ this may be correct in certain respects. Yet we might rather believe, that the number of architectural forms introduced into France by Italians of all kinds was quantitatively greater between 1495 and 1559 than after the latter year. At least it appears to us, that the advent of 22 Italians with Fra Giocondo and Paganino at their head at Amboise in the year 1495 was of equal importance. It will appear that sufficient attention cannot be devoted to this colony in Amboise. The school connected therewith must have exerted an influence of scarcely less importance, than that at Fontaine-

of royal command from which to draw and to the pleasure of
-noise, required for the various purposes, libraries, paint-
ings, articles of stone, marble and copper, as well as orn-
er furniture to the total value of 87,000 pounds, which were
intended for the decoration and use of the said cathedral. In
the sum considered was also included the assistance of 88 w
work people (nommes de main) during 24 days at 40 sous per
day. 131.

Note 132. See Description, H. Norwood and his children's
as Franciscan, etc. Paris. 1873. p. 7.
Note 134. According to the account of the Franciscan, vol. 2,

Salerno, who admitted this document, adds that it requires
no commentary. It is as if the various remarks thereon: - "The
is no single remark necessary, or 80 sheets of text are need-
ed for the same. The account of the Franciscan is not
taken from the lowest level into the heart of France was no-
tating more or less than all Italian art, that art which was
to make numerous workers blossom in Ancona, in Gallia, a
and in the other parts of the world, which the Franciscan
introduced by Francis. To note striking expression for the
great importance of the event concerned one can only assent
with entire conviction.

It will more and more appear, that this period, in which
the Franciscan order was founded, will be
in a more eventful for the state of his fatherland, was entirely
in the right, and that before momentarily forget this too a
the Franciscan order was founded, which the Franciscan
culture. France gave to the Franciscan art, as has been
it is the same for the Franciscan art, as has been
10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27-28-29-30-31-32-33-34-35-36-37-38-39-40-41-42-43-44-45-46-47-48-49-50-51-52-53-54-55-56-57-58-59-60-61-62-63-64-65-66-67-68-69-70-71-72-73-74-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-94-95-96-97-98-99-100-101-102-103-104-105-106-107-108-109-110-111-112-113-114-115-116-117-118-119-120-121-122-123-124-125-126-127-128-129-130-131-132-133-134-135-136-137-138-139-140-141-142-143-144-145-146-147-148-149-150-151-152-153-154-155-156-157-158-159-160-161-162-163-164-165-166-167-168-169-170-171-172-173-174-175-176-177-178-179-180-181-182-183-184-185-186-187-188-189-190-191-192-193-194-195-196-197-198-199-200-201-202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209-210-211-212-213-214-215-216-217-218-219-220-221-222-223-224-225-226-227-228-229-230-231-232-233-234-235-236-237-238-239-240-241-242-243-244-245-246-247-248-249-250-251-252-253-254-255-256-257-258-259-260-261-262-263-264-265-266-267-268-269-270-271-272-273-274-275-276-277-278-279-280-281-282-283-284-285-286-287-288-289-290-291-292-293-294-295-296-297-298-299-300-301-302-303-304-305-306-307-308-309-310-311-312-313-314-315-316-317-318-319-320-321-322-323-324-325-326-327-328-329-330-331-332-333-334-335-336-337-338-339-340-341-342-343-344-345-346-347-348-349-350-351-352-353-354-355-356-357-358-359-360-361-362-363-364-365-366-367-368-369-370-371-372-373-374-375-376-377-378-379-380-381-382-383-384-385-386-387-388-389-390-391-392-393-394-395-396-397-398-399-400-401-402-403-404-405-406-407-408-409-410-411-412-413-414-415-416-417-418-419-420-421-422-423-424-425-426-427-428-429-430-431-432-433-434-435-436-437-438-439-440-441-442-443-444-445-446-447-448-449-450-451-452-453-454-455-456-457-458-459-460-461-462-463-464-465-466-467-468-469-470-471-472-473-474-475-476-477-478-479-480-481-482-483-484-485-486-487-488-489-490-491-492-493-494-495-496-497-498-499-500-501-502-503-504-505-506-507-508-509-510-511-512-513-514-515-516-517-518-519-520-521-522-523-524-525-526-527-528-529-530-531-532-533-534-535-536-537-538-539-540-541-542-543-544-545-546-547-548-549-550-551-552-553-554-555-556-557-558-559-560-561-562-563-564-565-566-567-568-569-570-571-572-573-574-575-576-577-578-579-580-581-582-583-584-585-586-587-588-589-590-591-592-593-594-595-596-597-598-599-600-601-602-603-604-605-606-607-608-609-610-611-612-613-614-615-616-617-618-619-620-621-622-623-624-625-626-627-628-629-630-631-632-633-634-635-636-637-638-639-640-641-642-643-644-645-646-647-648-649-650-651-652-653-654-655-656-657-658-659-660-661-662-663-664-665-666-667-668-669-670-671-672-673-674-675-676-677-678-679-680-681-682-683-684-685-686-687-688-689-690-691-692-693-694-695-696-697-698-699-700-701-702-703-704-705-706-707-708-709-710-711-712-713-714-715-716-717-718-719-720-721-722-723-724-725-726-727-728-729-730-731-732-733-734-735-736-737-738-739-740-741-742-743-744-745-746-747-748-749-750-751-752-753-754-755-756-757-758-759-760-761-762-763-764-765-766-767-768-769-770-771-772-773-774-775-776-777-778-779-780-781-782-783-784-785-786-787-788-789-790-791-792-793-794-795-796-797-798-799-800-801-802-803-804-805-806-807-808-809-810-811-812-813-814-815-816-817-818-819-820-821-822-823-824-825-826-827-828-829-830-831-832-833-834-835-836-837-838-839-840-841-842-843-844-845-846-847-848-849-850-851-852-853-854-855-856-857-858-859-860-861-862-863-864-865-866-867-868-869-870-871-872-873-874-875-876-877-878-879-880-881-882-883-884-885-886-887-888-889-890-891-892-893-894-895-896-897-898-899-900-901-902-903-904-905-906-907-908-909-910-911-912-913-914-915-916-917-918-919-920-921-922-923-924-925-926-927-928-929-930-931-932-933-934-935-936-937-938-939-940-941-942-943-944-945-946-947-948-949-950-951-952-953-954-955-956-957-958-959-960-961-962-963-964-965-966-967-968-969-970-971-972-973-974-975-976-977-978-979-980-981-982-983-984-985-986-987-988-989-990-991-992-993-994-995-996-997-998-999-1000-1001-1002-1003-1004-1005-1006-1007-1008-1009-1010-1011-1012-1013-1014-1015-1016-1017-1018-1019-1020-1021-1022-1023-1024-1025-1026-1027-1028-1029-1030-1031-1032-1033-1034-1035-1036-1037-1038-1039-1040-1041-1042-1043-1044-1045-1046-1047-1048-1049-1050-1051-1052-1053-1054-1055-1056-1057-1058-1059-1060-1061-1062-1063-1064-1065-1066-1067-1068-1069-1070-1071-1072-1073-1074-1075-1076-1077-1078-1079-1080-1081-1082-1083-1084-1085-1086-1087-1088-1089-1090-1091-1092-1093-1094-1095-1096-1097-1098-1099-1100-1101-1102-1103-1104-1105-1106-1107-1108-1109-1110-1111-1112-1113-1114-1115-1116-1117-1118-1119-1120-1121-1122-1123-1124-1125-1126-1127-1128-1129-1130-1131-1132-1133-1134-1135-1136-1137-1138-1139-1140-1141-1142-1143-1144-1145-1146-1147-1148-1149-1150-1151-1152-1153-1154-1155-1156-1157-1158-1159-1160-1161-1162-1163-1164-1165-1166-1167-1168-1169-1170-1171-1172-1173-1174-1175-1176-1177-1178-1179-1180-1181-1182-1183-1184-1185-1186-1187-1188-1189-1190-1191-1192-1193-1194-1195-1196-1197-1198-1199-1200-1201-1202-1203-1204-1205-1206-1207-1208-1209-1210-1211-1212-1213-1214-1215-1216-1217-1218-1219-1220-1221-1222-1223-1224-1225-1226-1227-1228-1229-1230-1231-1232-1233-1234-1235-1236-1237-1238-1239-1240-1241-1242-1243-1244-1245-1246-1247-1248-1249-1250-1251-1252-1253-1254-1255-1256-1257-1258-1259-1260-1261-1262-1263-1264-1265-1266-1267-1268-1269-1270-1271-1272-1273-1274-1275-1276-1277-1278-1279-1280-1281-1282-1283-1284-1285-1286-1287-1288-1289-1290-1291-1292-1293-1294-1295-1296-1297-1298-1299-1300-1301-1302-1303-1304-1305-1306-1307-1308-1309-1310-1311-1312-1313-1314-1315-1316-1317-1318-1319-1320-1321-1322-1323-1324-1325-1326-1327-1328-1329-1330-1331-1332-1333-1334-1335-1336-1337-1338-1339-1340-1341-1342-1343-1344-1345-1346-1347-1348-1349-1350-1351-1352-1353-1354-1355-1356-1357-1358-1359-1360-1361-1362-1363-1364-1365-1366-1367-1368-1369-1370-1371-1372-1373-1374-1375-1376-1377-1378-1379-1380-1381-1382-1383-1384-1385-1386-1387-1388-1389-1390-1391-1392-1393-1394-1395-1396-1397-1398-1399-1400-1401-1402-1403-1404-1405-1406-1407-1408-1409-1410-1411-1412-1413-1414-1415-1416-1417-1418-1419-1420-1421-1422-1423-1424-1425-1426-1427-1428-1429-1430-1431-1432-1433-1434-1435-1436-1437-1438-1439-1440-1441-1442-1443-1444-1445-1446-1447-1448-1449-1450-1451-1452-1453-1454-1455-1456-1457-1458-1459-1460-1461-1462-1463-1464-1465-1466-1467-1468-1469-1470-1471-1472-1473-1474-1475-1476-1477-1478-1479-1480-1481-1482-1483-1484-1485-1486-1487-1488-1489-1490-1491-1492-1493-1494-1495-1496-1497-1498-1499-1500-1501-1502-1503-1504-1505-1506-1507-1508-1509-1510-1511-1512-1513-1514-1515-1516-1517-1518-1519-1520-1521-1522-1523-1524-1525-1526-1527-1528-1529-1530-1531-1532-1533-1534-1535-1536-1537-1538-1539-1540-1541-1542-1543-1544-1545-1546-1547-1548-1549-1550-1551-1552-1553-1554-1555-1556-1557-1558-1559-1560-1561-1562-1563-1564-1565-1566-1567-1568-1569-1570-1571-1572-1573-1574-1575-1576-1577-1578-1579-1580-1581-1582-1583-1584-1585-1586-1587-1588-1589-1590-1591-1592-1593-1594-1595-1596-1597-1598-1599-1600-1601-1602-1603-1604-1605-1606-1607-1608-1609-1610-1611-1612-1613-1614-1615-1616-1617-1618-1619-1620-1621-1622-1623-1624-1625-1626-1627-1628-1629-1630-1631-1632-1633-1634-1635-1636-1637-1638-1639-1640-1641-1642-1643-1644-1645-1646-1647-1648-1649-1650-1651-1652-1653-1654-1655-1656-1657-1658-1659-1660-1661-1662-1663-1664-1665-1666-1667-1668-1669-1670-1671-1672-1673-1674-1675-1676-1677-1678-1679-1680-1681-1682-1683-1684-1685-1686-1687-1688-1689-1690-1691-1692-1693-1694-1695-1696-1697-1698-1699-1700-1701-1702-1703-1704-1705-1706-1707-1708-1709-1710-1711-1712-1713-1714-1715-1716-1717-1718-1719-1720-1721-1722-1723-1724-1725-1726-1727-1728-1729-1730-1731-1732-1733-1734-1735-1736-1737-1738-1739-1740-1741-1742-1743-1744-1745-1746-1747-1748-1749-1750-1751-1752-1753-1754-1755-1756-1757-1758-1759-1760-1761-1762-1763-1764-1765-1766-1767-1768-1769-1770-1771-1772-1773-1774-1775-1776-1777-1778-1779-1780-1781-1782-1783-1784-1785-1786-1787-1788-1789-1790-1791-1792-1793-1794-1795-1796-1797-1798-1799-1800-1801-1802-1803-1804-1805-1806-1807-1808-1809-1810-1811-1812-1813-1814-1815-1816-1817-1818-1819-1820-1821-1822-1823-1824-1825-1826-1827-1828-1829-1830-1831-1832-1833-1834-1835-1836-1837-1838-1839-1840-1841-1842-1843-1844-1845-1846-1847-1848-1849-1850-1851-1852-1853-1854-1855-1856-1857-1858-1859-1860-1861-1862-1863-1864-1865-1866-1867-1868-1869-1870-1871-1872-1873-1874-1875-1876-1877-1878-1879-1880-1881-1882-1883-1884-1885-1886-1887-1888-1889-1890-1891-1892-1893-1894-1895-1896-1897-1898-1899-1900-1901-1902-1903-1904-1905-1906-1907-1908-1909-1910-1911-1912-1913-1914-1915-1916-1917-1918-1919-1920-1921-1922-1923-1924-1925-1926-1927-1928-1929-1930-1931-1932-1933-1934-1935-1936-1937-1938-1939-1940-1941-1942-1943-1944-1945-1946-1947-1948-1949-1950-1951-1952-1953-1954-1955-1956-1957-1958-1959-1960-1961-1962-1963-1964-1965-1966-1967-1968-1969-1970-1971-1972-1973-1974-1975-1976-1977-1978-1979-1980-1981-1982-1983-1984-1985-1986-1987-1988-1989-1990-1991-1992-1993-1994-1995-1996-1997-1998-1999-2000-2001-2002-2003-2004-2005-2006-2007-2008-2009-2010-2011-2012-2013-2014-2015-2016-2017-2018-2019-2020-2021-2022-2023-2024-2025-2026-2027-2028-2029-2030-2031-2032-2033-2034-2035-2036-2037-2038-2039-2040-2041-2042-2043-2044-2045-2046-2047-2048-2049-2050-2051-2052-2053-2054-2055-2056-2057-2058-2059-2060-2061-2062-2063-2064-2065-2066-2067-2068-2069-2070-2071-2072-2073-2074-2075-2076-2077-2078-2079-2080-2081-2082-2083-2084-2085-2086-2087-2088-2089-2090-2091-2092-2093-2094-2095-2096-2097-2098-2099-2100-2101-2102-2103-2104-2105-2106-2107-2108-2109-2110-2111-2112-2113-2114-2115-2116-2117-2118-2119-2120-2121-2122-2123-2124-2125-2126-2127-2128-2129-2130-2131-2132-2133-2134-2135-2136-2137-2138-2139-2140-2141-2142-2143-2144-2145-2146-2147-2148-2149-2150-2151-2152-2153-2154-2155-2156-2157-2158-2159-2160-2161-2162-2163-2164-2165-2166-2167-2168-2169-2170-2171-2172-2173-2174-2175-2176-2177-2178-2179-2180-2181-2182-2183-2184-2185-2186-2187-2188-2189-2190-2191-2192-2193-2194-2195-2196-2197-2198-2199-2200-2201-2202-2203-2204-2205-2206-2207-2208-2209-2210-2211-2212-2213-2214-2215-2216-2217-2218-2219-2220-2221-2222-2223-2224-2225-2226-2227-2228-2229-2230-2231-2232-2233-2234-2235-2236-2237-2238-2239-2240-2241-2242-2243-2244-2245-2246-2247-2248-2249-2250-2251-2252-2253-2254-2255-2256-2257-2258-2259-2260-2261-2262-2263-2264-2265-2266-2267-2268-2269-2270-2271-2272-2273-2274-2275-2276-2277-2278-2279-2280-2281-2282-2283-2284-2285-2286-2287-2288-2289-2290-2291-2292-2293-2294-2295-2296-2297-2298-2299-2300-2301-2302-2303-2304-2305-2306-2307-2308-2309-2310-2311-2312-2313-2314-2315-2316-2317-2318-2319-2320-2321-2322-2323-2324-2325-2326-2327-2328-2329-2330-2331-2332-2333-2334-2335-2336-2337-2338-2339-2340-2341-2342-2343-2344-2345-2346-2347-2348-2349-2350-2351-2352-2353-2354-2355-2356-2357-2358-2359-2360-2361-2362-2363-2364-2365-2366-2367-2368-2369-2370-2371-2372-2373-2374-2375-2376-2377-2378-2379-2380-2381-2382-2383-2384-2385-2386-2387-2388-2389-2390-2391-2392-2393-2394-2395-2396-2397-2398-2399-2400-2401-2402-2403-2404-2405-2406-2407-2408-2409-2410-2411-2412-2413-2414-2415-2416-2417-2418-2419-2420-2421-2422-2423-2424-2425-2426-2427-2428-2429-2430-2431-2432-2433-2434-2435-2436-2437-2438-2439-2440-2441-2442-2443-2444-2445-2446-2447-2448-2449-2450-2451-2452-2453-2454-2455-2456-2457-2458-2459-2460-2461-2462-2463-2464-2465-2466-2467-2468-2469-2470-2471-2472-2473-2474-2475-2476-2477-2478-2479-2480-2481-2482-2483-2484-2485-2486-2487-2488-2489-2490-2491-2492-2493-2494-2495-2496-2497-2498-2499-2500-2501-2502-2503-2504-2505-2506-2507-2508-2509-2510-2511-2512-2513-2514-2515-2516-2517-2518-2519-2520-2521-2522-2523-2524-2525-2526-2527-2528-2529-2530-2531-2532-2533-2534-2535-2536-2537-2538-2539-2540-2541-2542-2543-2544-2545-2546-2547-2548-2549-2550-2551-2552-2553-2554-2555-2556-2557-2558-2559-2560-2561-2562-2563-2564-2565-2566-2567-2568-2569-2570-2571-2572-2573-2574-2575-2576-2577-2578-2579-2580-2581-2582-2583-2584-2585-2586-2

Fontainebleau, though of a different kind. It may only be recalled of this, that on December 24, 1495, the royal tent-maker and upholsterer Nicolas Fagot received payment of the sum of 1593 livres tournois granted to him for the transportation by royal command from Naples to Lyons and to the Chateau of Amboise, required for the various carpets, libraries, paintings, articles of stone, marble and porphyry, as well as other furniture to the total weight of 87,000 pounds, which were intended for the decoration and use of the said chateau. In the sum considered was also included the subsistence of 22 work people (*hommes de mestier*) during 34 days at 40 sous per day.¹³⁴

Note 133. See Destailleur, H. *Notices sur quelques Artistes Francois*, etc. Paris. 1868. p. 9.

Note 134. According to *Archives de l'Art Francois*, vol. 2, 305.

Balanne, who published this document, adds that it requires no commentary. Marquis de Chenevieres remarks thereon:— "This is no single remark necessary, or 20 sheets of them are needed; for what the upholsterer Nicolas Fagot despatched in his wagons from the lowest Italy into the heart of France was nothing more nor less than all Italian art, that art which was to make numberless wonders blossom in Amboise, in Gaillon, and in our entire fatherland, perhaps the most delicate ever introduced by France". To this striking expression for the great importance of the event considered one can only assent with entire conviction.

It will more and more appear, that this period, in which the French writer in the campaign of Charles VIII saw an epoch-making event for the arts of his fatherland, was entirely in the right, and that moderns momentarily forget this too much. That campaign was the perceptible starting point of the entire transformation in the tendency of French art and culture. France gave up the Gallo-Germanic art, at the head of which it had stood for 350 years, and it went back to Gallo-Roman culture.

Another fact should be mentioned, that makes the determination of the part taken by Italian artists in works of the French Renaissance much more difficult. This is the translation

of the names of Italian artists into French or sometimes their distortion beyond recognition in contemporary writings, and documents and accounts.

Thus for example:--

Ponzio Trebati into Maître Ponce.

Isabella di Pace into Isabeau de Pasche.

Matteo dal Nassaro into d'Alvassac.

Domenico Fiorentino
Ricovert or Recoveri) into Recouury, Ricourre, Ricombre.

Battista della Vernia into Baptiste d'Auvergne.

Domenico da Cortona (Boccadoro) into Dominique de Tortemer.

Primaticcio into Primateche.

Francini (Alessandro) into Franchine.

Fra Giovanni Giocondo into Frere Jehan Joyeux.

Palladio into Paladieu.

Dom Patello da Mercollano into Dom Passollo, gardener.

Chapter 4. Origin of the Forms of the Early Renaissance in France.

(About 1495 - 1540).

a. Necessity for a Period with mixed Forms.

55. Principle of the Mixture.

The origin of architectural forms in the early French Renaissance depends upon no unusual basal idea. We simply stand before the Italo-French expression of a general human intellectual tendency acting in the domain of architecture. It appears everywhere and in every period, where a foreign language or a new mode of expression is to be adopted. The first that we do then is to clothe our own former ideas and feelings in the new mode of expression and to express them therein. much more rarely does it occur, that in the first epoch a foreign basal idea or a foreign composition is expressed in the old native formulas and forms of detail, or even contemporaneously in the new ones. Where this occurs, it is probable that this basal composition in the foreign spirit actually proceeds from a foreigner, and that merely its execution is left to those, who desire to learn the new style and adapt themselves to it. For the last that one learns in such cases is, that one also thinks in the spirit of the foreigner, composing and expressing himself accordingly. When this occurs, men are already in the case now considered; they have reached the period of the high Renaissance.

There can scarcely be even a rumor ¹³⁵ of an objective and rightly understood conception of the forms of the antique, or of the modern Italian architecture, both from the side of laymen and that of architects during the first period, that succeeded the campaign of Charles VIII. Every Frenchman took from that source at random just what might please him, and he applied it where it by chance caused him the most pleasure. Consciously or unconsciously, men still had too great pleasure in all kinds of Gothic arrangements, ideas, customs and phenomena, to adopt a design entirely Italian in appearance, - except for tombs and gardens. Therefore everything led of itself to a fusion, or more correctly, to a mixture of forms by placing them beside each other.

Note 135. Just as little as one can learn a foreign language in a week or a month.

...in the case of a number of monuments, which
...in history, whenever a new architectural style
...in a particular country, or wherever an art
...style is received from a foreign country. Such
...as east coast, where Gothic forms begin to
...into Romanesque, Arabo-Persian into those of Hindu-
...the Indian Renaissance into the Islamic, and with Islamic
...into the Byzantine-Renaissance of Moscow.
...in the treatment of such questions, even architectural like a
...of art too easily commit the fault of regarding a
...historical investigation from the state of the past, and
...to select a foreign style; the subject remains at
...all regional individualities and peculiarities in favor of the
...of foreign architecture. For a purely ideal problem,
...the latter is sometimes proper Gothic and not, as directly
...Therefore, like those for the cathedrals of
...at times or last for Louis XII in St. Denis, which
...to select; for details of sculpture, and
...in the Chapel of St. Louis at Versailles, do we find
...the same later. But for churches is already more strongly
...the firm adherence to the national opinion; yet for
...as it were otherwise, as will be shown later in
...the construction of these compositions.

26. Comparison in Architecture.

...if a French architect, inspired by the view of the cathedrals
...of Italy, with the intention to erect a cathedral in the same
...in his native land, when he proceeded to carry out the
...is first, and he finally left before himself the design consisting
...from an Italian architect, he then found himself in face
...of a series of considerations, that had not at all occurred
...to him in the beginning. The tower towers, the apse of the
...the steep roofs first invented by the Romans
...the high chimneys, domes, windows, and the general
...by him, he would not give up the
...of these requirements alone.
...the importance of the Italian design from naturally as a
...the religious beliefs of the stories of Italian cathedrals as to
...at least, in which he felt himself comfortable.

We stand here in presence of a number of phenomena, which always occur in history, whenever a new architectural style is developed in a particular country, or whenever an already developed style is received from a foreign country. Such phenomena may be best observed, where Gothic forms begin to penetrate into Romanesque, Arab-Persian into those of Hindostan, the Italian Renaissance into the Gothic, and with Aristotele Fioravanti into the Byzantine-Persian of Moscow.

In the treatment of such questions, even architects like historians of art too easily commit the fault of requiring a psychological impossibility from the taste of the people, that begins to adopt a foreign style; the abrupt surrender of all national inclinations and peculiarities in favor of the proposals of foreign architects. For a purely ideal problem, the latter is sometimes sooner possible and may be directly required. Therefore tombs, like those for the children of Charles VIII at Tours or that for Louis XII in S. Denis, might be purely Italian, so to speak; for designs of gardens, and indeed in the Chapel of S. Lazare at Marseilles, do we find the same later. But for churches is already more strongly expressed the firm adherence to the national opinion; yet for residences is it quite otherwise, as will be shown later in the consideration of facade compositions.

56. Compromise in Residences.

If a French nobleman, inspired by the view of the palaces of Italy, made the decision to erect a chateau in the same spirit in his native land, when he proceeded to carry out this idea, and he finally laid before himself the design obtained from an Italian architect, he then found himself in face of a series of considerations, that had not at all occurred to him in the beginning. The round towers, the symbol of his feudal rights, the steep roofs first invented by the Gothic architects, the high chimneys, dormer windows, and the general arrangement preferred by him, he would not give up thenceforth. But by the introduction of these requirements alone, the appearance of the Italian design must naturally be substantially changed. This was further aided by the reduction of the imposing heights of the stories of Italian palaces to that lesser height, in which he felt himself comfortable. The

and the success of this work was only an entire recognition of the Italian revolution, where the greatest innovation was by no means the replacing of words by new ones; but a new way of ordering of the words and of other forms that occur, giving an entirely different proportion of the words to the sentence. But so far has been no question of entirely new words of his native language, who has never seen Italy and so the more strongly inclined to native forms, and just as little of the Italian and constant resistance of the native style, which is even more is never lacking, for the source of the feeling of superiority, as a result of the structural comparison of the two styles is completely lost, and the feeling of the superiority of the Italian style is completely lost.

Therefore it should indeed be asserted, that the feeling for a superior style, which an Italian would not between Italy and Italy for France, must necessarily appear quite different, even if the same matter had occurred in Italy. This fact is of great importance in determining the participation of Italian masters in French and words.

2. Italian Models for French Language Forms.

As later in France at the time of Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I, so in Italy is found the composition of a composition of words and sentence forms as a transition to the Italian style; but this appears to be in Italy generally during the 16th century, according to the province considered, since the Italian style was already an introduction to the French style, being an English-like form of a similar feeling in the 16th century.

Aspects in the composition style of Leonardo da Vinci and other Italian masters have already been mentioned. Of external examples of this transition phase any are mentioned: -- the Italian style on the other hand of the French and on the other hand of the French; those in the passage to the French style of St. Croix at Florence; the transition on works like to those of St. Croix at Florence; the passage of St. Agostino at Montecassino; the transition of French style for the Florentine language; and, not to speak of the examples of this tendency in the

consequences of this were not only an entire remodeling of the Italian subdivision, where the greatest innovation was by no means the replacing of round by oval arches; but a systematic cutting of the orders and of other forms must occur, producing an entirely different proportion of the windows to the pilasters. But so far has been no question of satisfying any wishes of his noble wife, who had never seen Italy and so the more strongly adhered to native things, and just as little of the jealousy and concealed resistance of the native architects, which in such cases is never lacking, nor the scornful feeling of superiority, as a result of the structural complexity of the old style in comparison with the new, which the Gothic architects in general very frequently believed should be felt towards the Italians, and likewise manifested this.

Therefore it should indeed be asserted, that the design for a secular building, which an Italian worked out between 1495 and 1540 for France, must necessarily appear quite different, than if the same master had prepared it for Italy. This fact is of great importance in determining the participation of Italian masters in French art works.

b. Italian Models for French Compromise Forms.

57. Semi-Gothic Compromise Forms.

As later in France at the time of Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I, so in Italy is found the compromise of a combination of Gothic and antique forms as a transition to the Renaissance; but this appearance is in Italy generally quite different, according to the province considered, since the local Gothic style was already an introduction to the Renaissance, being an antique-like idea or a similar feeling in clothing like Gothic.

Sketches in the compromise style by Leonardo da Vinci and other Italian masters have already been mentioned. Of executed examples of this transition phase may be mentioned:-- the windows on the older portions of the Palace of Urbino and on the Hospital at Sulmona; those in the passage to the sacristy of S. Croce at Florence; the pediments on works like to Tomb of Brancacci at Naples, the facade of S. Agostino at Montepulciano, the lantern of Brunellesco for the Florentine Cathedral etc., not to speak of the examples of this tendency in Lombardy.

58. Milanese Models.

In the latter province, chiefly on the Certosa near Pavia, on the pinnacles of the Cathedral at Como and on the model for the Cathedral at Pavia, the basal ideas of the style of Louis XII and of Francis I were first established, especially the retention of Gothic parts or members of the structure and their detailing with antique Roman forms in accordance with the principle of composition of the latter. Instead of aspiring little pinnacled towers were built the capricious forms of an ideal architecture, for the vertical portion being a series of beautifully graduated plinth and pedestal-like supports bearing a kind of shrine. In place of a single pointed pyramidal or obelisk-like roof appears a repeated succession of drums, beset with columns and variously subdivided, that alternate with circular drums; the latter are graduated like lanterns and are accompanied by varied graceful and crowning motives. The capriciousness of the subdivision of this series of stepped forms, the beauty of the combining profiles are frequently enchanting. One believes that he sees only models of fanciful towers in an ideal style, about as if he were inclined to imagine a certain "heavenly architecture", constructed only for love of an "ideal architecture" and to satisfy the originally innate in man, "joy in the beautiful". In spite of the indescribable charm of numberless works found in France, the author has neither met in Chambord nor elsewhere with those, which are of equal rank with some to be found on the roof of the side aisle of the Cathedral at Como.¹³⁶

Note 136. Probably after drawings by Bramante, decided on in the year 1491 and erected before 1513.

If these ground principles of antique-like treatment and detailing of Gothic compositions be extended to the French late Gothic doorways, church portals and windows, as well as dormer windows with their finials, little buttresses and flying outtresses, their tracery gables etc., in brief to all late Gothic architectural members, then has the principle of form and the programme of all possible forms been fixed, that are found in the early French Renaissance, or in the transition style of the reigns of Louis XII and of Francis I until about 1540.

It should not be forgotten here, that the candelabras were borrowed from S. Maria delle Grazie, the pilasters from S. Satiro at Milan, from the Cancellaria at Rome, from the works of A. Bregno there and at Siena, as well as from other buildings in upper Italy, and that niches and tabernacles were frequently furnished with canopies composed in late Gothic, but these were again treated after the antique and were detailed according to the basal ideas shown. By such combinations was produced a limitless domain, as might be said, in which the imagination and the love of ornament of this "first period of youthful love" for the French Renaissance might frequently develop with childlike rapture and charming grace. ¹³⁷

Note 137. Concerning the Milanese influence, see the correct views of Paul Mantz in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Feb. 1887. p. 124.

c. Necessity of Italian Cooperation at the Beginning of the French Renaissance.

59. Period from 1495 to 1540.

With the generation of French architects, who returned from Italy between 1530 and 1540, at whose head stood Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, Jean Goujon, Pierre Lescot, Philibert de l'Orme and Jean Bullant, the further development of French external architecture might indeed be conceivable, even without the presence of a number of Italians in France and exclusively by Frenchmen, who educated themselves in Italy at that time. Aside from these, one Italian, Primaticcio, is observed to play an important architectural part. Contrary thereto, the development of French architecture between 1495 and 1520 at earliest, without the cooperation of a number of Italian architects and of many Italian workmen is conventional, as psychologically impossible, though just during this time the general appearance of the monuments still comprises many more older, i.e., French elements, than after 1530.

60. Necessity for a Knowledge of Antique Forms.

It should not be forgotten, that in order to clothe the members of a Gothic building in a Milanese or Bramantesque exterior, an accurate knowledge of antique forms is first of all required, and so with all combinations, that one can undertake with them; in a much lesser degree was the knowledge of

Gothic required for this. The same masters that exclusively knew the Gothic forms, like most French architects of the first period of the Renaissance, therefore were simply unable to think at all of such a translation, like that employed by the style of Francis I. Just as little were the French architects in condition, when they had not studied for several years in Italy, to translate an Italian design before about 1515, such as might have originated in Tuscany, Milan or Venice about 1490 - 1520, into the forms of Francis I with correctly and systematically treated details; the new forms and the principles of their use did not sufficiently control here. The Italian design would not contain the same elements, by a means of which it could transform the canopies, pinnacles and dormer windows into the style of Louis XII or Francis I. They were at the utmost only able to compose a certain kind of works in the style of Louis XII, i.e., to insert a certain number of new forms in alternation with Gothic forms in a Gothic design, when whether these new forms were taken from various monuments in Italy itself or from Italian designs in France, and were worked over with more or less skill sometimes, at others were imitated with more or less good fortune.

Hence one is driven to the important conclusion, that up to a certain moment, the drawings for a number of elements like the antique-like canopies, pinnacles etc. must have come from the Italians themselves.

61. Reaction of French Taste upon Italian Masters.

On the other hand it must be conceded, that the Tuscan masters do not as a rule suffer from a superfluity of imagination, and one must therefore inquire, whether if left to themselves, they would have been capable of happily producing the forms of the style of Francis I. The Milanese and the north Italian architects were much better fitted for this.

Therefore it was clearly the Gothic spirit and Gothic arrangements, with which these masters constantly had to satisfy themselves, for them an actual source of creative stimulation. From this probably resulted pretty often a scarcely to be avoided reaction of French taste upon the works and the character of the style of the Italians in France.

62. Views of Anthyme-Saint-Paul.

It is a common mistake to suppose that the Renaissance in France was a sudden and complete transformation of the French mind. In fact, it was a long and gradual process, which began in the fifteenth century and continued through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Renaissance in France was not a single movement, but a series of movements, each with its own characteristics and its own influence on the French mind. The first movement was the Italian Renaissance, which began in the fifteenth century and spread to France in the sixteenth century. The second movement was the French Renaissance, which began in the sixteenth century and continued through the seventeenth century. The third movement was the Enlightenment, which began in the eighteenth century and continued through the nineteenth century. Each movement had its own influence on the French mind, and each movement was a part of the larger process of the Renaissance in France. The Renaissance in France was a process of transformation, which began in the fifteenth century and continued through the nineteenth century. It was a process of transformation of the French mind, which was a result of the influence of the Italian Renaissance, the French Renaissance, and the Enlightenment. The Renaissance in France was a process of transformation, which began in the fifteenth century and continued through the nineteenth century. It was a process of transformation of the French mind, which was a result of the influence of the Italian Renaissance, the French Renaissance, and the Enlightenment.

62. Views of Anthyme-Saint-Paul.

In view of the opinions, which have become generally disseminated in France, it is well to observe this necessity of Italian cooperation as well as the reaction of the French element upon the Italian, clearly recognized by Anthyme-Saint-Paul. He proposes to himself the question, ¹³⁸"whether then the French architects with their strong individuality, abundant reason and reflection, could not have dispensed with the constant and restraining cooperation of foreigners?" "We are compelled", he writes, "to recognize that there would have been no French Renaissance, or that it would have greatly differed from that existing, if an Italian Renaissance had not previously existed; it is certain, that Italian architects came to France, that they proved very useful there, and that our own had a necessity for seeing Italy and Italian productions in order to educate themselves. But after the directing impulse was received, the progress of our artists was sufficiently increased to become capable of selecting a direction of their own choice, to follow this without being continually led by the hand, and even frequently to surpass their masters themselves. In the last years of Charles VIII and during the first time of Louis XII, Italy could directly transmit many details, that the Florentine, Milanese and Venetian schools had not yet rejected, and which with us made their good fortune; arabesques, scrolls, pilasters with lozenge-shaped panels, little candelabra-columns, portrait medallions, shells, and the small pediments with sculptured architraves."

Note 138. Plonct. Vol. 6. p. 368.

d. School of the Loire, or of Amboise and of Gailion.
of the Italian Colony in Amboise.

The most striking evidence, that men perceived the necessity of that cooperation with Italian masters and workmen, which has been proved indispensable, consists in the already mentioned colony of 22 Italians, that Charles VIII brought from Naples to Amboise. Their assistance originated the first Renaissance school in France; the school of the Loire.

The great influence, that the Italians in Fontainebleau exerted on French art through the school connected with them, is generally known. With few exceptions like Marquis de Che-

Chenevieres, A. de Montaiglon, Ludovik Lalanne, Benjamin Fillon, etc., very few seem to have reflected, that the mass of Italian art, that after 1495 and previous to the school of Fontainebleau was transmitted into French architecture, was not less important. We even believe, that it had far greater difficulties to overcome, than the school of Fontainebleau itself, and consequently to all appearances required a similar centre, to be able to collect its forces and make them felt.

The first Italian school in France found this home, similar to that of the second in a certain degree, and indeed likewise in a royal castle, the fortress above the beautiful Loire, on the rock of Amboise. Its chief works form the school of the Loire and that at Gaillon. In support of this view, the following works of Fillon may be quoted:--¹³⁹ - - "From the preceding letters it follows, that the colony of Italian workmen came to France in 1495 and settled in Amboise, the favorite residence of Charles. Near Tours, this city became the artistic centre, where aided by fashion, Michel Columbe and his school came to obtain inspiration, as well as Jean Perre-al, - - -Martin Cloistre of Blois, and that swarm of painters and woodcarvers, whose vast talent our period is beginning to appreciate - - -."

Note 139. See Archives de l'Art Francois. Vol. 1. p. 276.

A. de Montaigne would prefer to believe that these Italians had previously sojourned in Tours, since Jacques Taillandier, under whose protection they were, staid there.¹⁴⁰ But the list of important masters staying in Tours shows mostly Frenchmen.

Note 140. See Archives etc. vol 124. No. 1.

64. Masters in this Colony.

Of 22 Italians, who came to Amboise up to the end of 1495, only 9 are mentioned in the following list,¹⁴¹ being indeed only those designated by their calling as connected with architecture. Under A are collected the expressions, which refer otherwise to their callings and their positions; under B are given the names of the masters and their yearly salaries (in tournois), so as to obtain therefrom a comparative view of their importance.

Note 141. From Annales de l'Art Francois. Vol. 1. p. 107 et seq.

Italians in the service of Charles VIII:--

A. Certain workmen

men of trades

and other personages

to work at their trades after

the custom and manner of Italy,

designers (came from the kingdom of Sicily)

to build

and to make works after their designs and

pleasure after the fashion of Italy.

B.

Frere Jehan Jocundus (Fra Giocondo), religious of the order
of S. Francis, designer of buildings. 562 livres 10 s.

Dom Passolo or Pasello (Pocello da Mercoliano) gardener. 375.

Guido Paganino, knight, painter and illuminator. 937 1/2.

Master Bernardin de Brescia, worker on floors and joiner in
all colors. 240.

Jerome Passerot, master workman of masonry. 240.

Domenico de Courtenne, maker of castles¹⁴² and joiner in all
kinds of masonry. 240.

Alphonse Damasse, turner of alabaster (together with his
master). 480.

Domino Johanne de granna, priest, maker of organs. 240.

Monsieur Luc Becjeame (called Berjame in de Croy), jeweller
designer, cunning in making chickens set and hatch, knight,
designer of buildings.

Note 142. It is correctly stated, that "castles" do not
here mean "chateaux", but wooden towers employed in attacks
and other similar war equipment.

65. Part of the Masters of Amboise.

Of greater historical importance is now the question, whether is possible a direct influence and a direct participation of one or more of these or other masters on the origin of the early Renaissance in France. This question has not only a general conventional interest, which even extends beyond the limits of the French Renaissance, but it belongs to those, that for a series of years have most attracted the attention of Frenchmen. for a conception of the difficulty of answering

this question, as well as to give the most recent views in this domain, the words of a recent investigator, F. de Croy, may be quoted here, and whose quiet objectivity has a good effect, in comparison with the rash decisions of others. He writes in reference to the royal chateaus on the Loire; 143 "Neither the date of the beginning of these buildings nor that of their completion is known. A knowledge of the inspiration and of the superintendence under which they originated is almost entirely lacking. After the merit of these first works of our Renaissance had been ascribed to Italian architects until the most recent times, it is now proved that this honor belongs to the French school. But it is only on the ground of indirect statements or the accidental mention, that one can give the names of some artists, who were employed on them. The subject presents so many gaps, that one must almost doubt, whether these will ever be filled". It may be seen from this, that until very recent times the intervention of Italian masters has been generally assumed, and indeed perhaps in a greater degree, than we deem necessary here. One cannot deny the difficulty in determining the actual masters. But nevertheless it appears credible, that if correctness be granted, of what has been said concerning the necessity of compromise forms and of an Italo-French cooperation, we will perhaps recognize, that there may finally be deduced from existing statements both more and other conclusions, than many in the recent period were inclined to believe.

Note 143. Croy, J. de. *Nouveaux Documents sur l'Histoire de la Creation des Residences royales des Bords de la Loire.* p. 1, 4. Paris. 1894. -- The accounts on parchment were largely used in the year 5 for making patterns for stucco work.

66. Striking Homogeneity of the School.

Two additional phenomena incite us to enter more fully into this question. First is the frequently striking homogeneity, that manifests itself in similar ideas, in composition, in development and subdivision, as well as in the details on the royal buildings in Blois, Chambord and Chenonceaux, or those of the minister Robertet in Bury, and on other structures belonging to this group, and indeed in such wise as to arouse the conjecture, that at a certain time the same identical master has acted as a leader.

The mouldings on an entire series of buildings from the first 30 years of the 16th century seem to be due to the influences of a certain master, and this fact will be referred to again in the later chapter devoted to mouldings. The peculiarities in style and the character of the mouldings are in no way incompatible with what we know of the two most prominent architects of the colony of Amboise, the two masters upon which all traditions and recent documents invite us to concentrate our entire attention. These are Fra Giocondo and Domenico da Cortona. Both are architects of unusual fame. The fame acquired in Paris by the one mentioned in the second place, is indeed exclusively based on the later construction of the Hotel-de-Ville there; only very recently does attention appear to have been directed to his earlier lengthy stay on the Loire. The following first proceeds to the consideration of what we know concerning the activity of these two masters in France.

1. Fra Giovanni Giocondo from Verona.

(Born 1435 or earlier; died 1515).

67. Slight Notice of Him.

Men have frequently lamented and made prominent also, that the Italians, who came to France and exerted a more or less weighty influence upon the development of the Renaissance in France, were only masters of the second or even lower rank, - with the exception of Leonardo, who was too old and died too soon. But one has not thought this of Fra Giocondo. It may indeed be, that until now, we know of only one building in Italy, whose design belongs to his earlier period, namely the Palace del Consiglio at Verona (1476-1493); further that of the three works in France formerly ascribed to him, two have entirely disappeared and the third partially so; finally that the representations of these buildings do not exhibit the style, that one would at first be inclined to expect from an Italian, and that the building accounts and other documents, so far as we possess them in relation to these buildings, do not mention Fra Giocondo. To this may be added, that the only drawing by the Fra existing until 1882 long appeared so unintelligible, that men began to almost believe it a jest, and that all the reliable documents concerning his activity in F

France related to engineering structures, as to an aqueduct for the royal gardens in Blois and to the construction of the first stone bridge at Paris. (Bridge of Notre Dame).

From the latter fact, Galustre believed,¹⁴⁴ -- in accordance with the overhasty principles of modern criticism and the vivacity peculiar to him, -- "that this poor Fra Giocondo" must be ejected from the ranks of architects, and to decide that he was never an artist, but a "skilful constructor", thus being merely a civil and military engineer.

Note 144. *La Renaissance en France. Isle-de-France.* p. 75, 76. -- Now Palustre sometimes unfortunately decides hastily on matters, which he has never seen, is shown by his discussion of a work; *Cento Disegno di Architettura, d'ornato e di figure di Fra. G. Giocondo* (Florence, 1882), in *Chronique des Arts*, 1882. No. 28. -- Some further notices of Giocondo were given by us in *Chronique des Arts*, 1882. No. 38. -- We have since reported on more than a thousand additional drawings by Giocondo in the *Collection Destailleur in Trois Albums de Dessins de Fra Giocondo in Melanges d'Archaeologie et de Histoire* publies par l'Ecole française de Rome. Vol. 11. (1891). -- Some thoughts in opposition to the latter work, in the *Mittheilungen d. Kais. Deutsch. Archaeol. Inst., Roman Section*, V vol. 7, parts 3, 4 are partly based upon an incorrect reading of my work, partly on points not yet finally determined.

After I had the good fortune to determine Fra Giocondo as the author of more than a hundred original drawings found in the Uffizi at Florence, from which it follows, that he was the greatest architect of his time in Italy, next to Bramante and Leonardo da Vinci; after I had further succeeded in finding the key to the unintelligible plan for S. Peter in Rome, and it resulted, that his design had led to a noble and wonderful work, -- it became a duty to examine anew, whether such a master, who was contemporaneously in the service of the king and of the city of Paris, and was suddenly called to Rome by Pope Julius II to participate with Bramante in the competition for S. Peter's, had not in some way influenced the development of the Renaissance there, during the 10 years that he had dwelt in France.

First of all, the buildings earlier ascribed to him were h

here first of all to be examined, since the reasons on which men relied in recent times to exclude Fra Giocondo from all participation in them, when more closely considered, had no decisive value whatever.

68. Designer of Buildings.

Before this indeed occurs, there should be announced the examination of an important point, especially the title by which Fra Giocondo was mentioned during the first years of his stay in France; this appears to have been not entirely unusual for that period. It reads "deviser of buildings", in contrast to "master workman of masonry", as another Italian of the colony, Jerome Passerot, was called. The first designation clearly denotes a master, who was rather intended to give to the buildings the corresponding artistic and especially the architectural form, and who troubled himself little or not at all concerning their material execution in all details. If this title be brought into connection with the expression "device and pleasure of the king", whereby must be understood ideas, views and caprices, in which the king had especial pleasure, then will "deviser of buildings" denote him, who had to work out proposals and drawings for the remodeling of the buildings in accordance with the most extended ideas of the king, certainly in the taste of the king and according to what he understood by the fashion of Italy. After they had been adopted, the execution of such designs perhaps followed under native masters in combination with some Italians.¹⁴⁵

Note 145. See likewise the following chapter on the architects of the French Renaissance.

69. Chateau at Amboise.

The dates of the works in Amboise, the often decidedly Italian elements in the parts of this chateau executed in the compromise style and represented in Du Cerceau (Fig. 22 ¹⁴⁶), and the positive statements of Commynes, that Charles VIII employed his Italians in building the same, permit the assumption, that upon this most important of the royal undertakings in architecture, for which he had in the first place imported his Italians, Fra Giocondo, who was at the head of the first party, may have exercised an influence.

If the statement of Anthyme-Saint-Paul be correct, that sym-

symmetrical plans of Chateaux Le Venger and Bury are exceptions in that period, -- and he appears to me to be right therein, -- then just this symmetrical arrangement of plan (Fig. 17), which in some things recalls those of the Castle of Milan and of the entrance at the gate of the Castle Nuovo at Naples, must be ascribed to the influence of Fra Giocondo, since the building of the chateau was begun in 1496, thus just after the campaign of Charles VIII, and it was already completed in the year 1499, thus being executed in the time, during which this master remained on the Loire. Some Italian details, the fact that the builder, Marshal de Gie, was governor of Amboise, and he frequently had the chateaux at Amboise and at Gaillon inspected by the master mason Colin Byard of Tours, who likewise executed some work in the Chateau Le Venger, -- all this likewise permits, that a certain connection with the colony at Amboise may be assumed.

70. Works ascribed to Fra Giocondo.

We now come to the question:-- can Fra Giocondo have had a any part in buildings, that were long ascribed to him, but whose appearance is entirely different from the style, that he would have employed in Italy? I freely admit that for a time, I was inclined to decidedly answer this question by a denial. Yet after a series of years, my more thorough studies on the nature of that period and on the conditions, under which Fra Giocondo was compelled to work in France, led to the opinion, that from merely the point of view of style, an influence of this master was at least not only possible, but almost probable for the Chateau at Gaillon and for the "Salle doree." (Golden hall).

Concerning the golden hall belonging to the Palace of Justice in Paris, it is to be said, that the decoration of the lunettes with the royal arms and the porcupine of Louis XII, the cenaturs and sirens, which even in the engraving of the last century (Figs. 23, ¹⁴⁷ 345) retain the character of the school of Verona-Padua, thus of the native place of Fra Giocondo, so that one must query, whether the authors are not entirely or partly right, who designate this hall as a work of the brother? It might also be added, that the suspended arches, there employed as the decorative system of the ceiling,

also occur on the facade of the Chateau at Gaillon. (Figs. 24, 25).

Note 147. From an engraving by Poilly in *Gabinet des Estampes* at Paris. Vol. Va, 226.

Note 148. Padre Marchese mentions this ascription in his *Memorie degli Artisti Domenicani*. -- On the *Chambre doree*, see further the chapter on internal decoration.

One wing of the latter, whose fragments are now almost collectively preserved in the *Ecole des Beaux Arts* at Paris¹ and confirms the accuracy of the facade system shown by Israel S Silvestre (Fig. 24¹⁴⁹) and shows in the arrangement of the medallions between the pilasters with arabesques and in connection with sculptured scrolls (Fig. 25¹⁵⁰) a motive, which strongly recalls the similar arrangement on Fra Giocondo's *Palace del Consiglio* at Verona, on which the scrolls are indeed only painted. Since further in the mouldings and in the arabesques of this facade are likewise some things similar to models in the same parts of upper Italy, are queries whether there may not be some truth in the earlier opinion, that the Chateau at Gaillon is a work of Fra Giocondo.

Note 149. Reproduced from an engraving by Israel Silvestre.

Note 150. Reproduced from *Rev. Gen. d'Arch.* Year 40, Pl. 34.

Only since the publication by Deville relating to the building accounts of the Chateau at Gaillon,¹⁵¹ which was in part epoch-making in France, have men begun to give up the latter opinion. Deville says:-- "It has been repeated to satiety, that the cardinal entrusted to the famous Veronese architect Fra Giocondo the building of his chateau at Gaillon. This opinion, which was already suspected by Emeric David, completely disappears in view of the building accounts here published, in which the name of Fra Giocondo does not once occur. If Georges did employ some Italian artists, none of them had charge of the erection of the buildings, which rather belonged entirely to French architects. The Italian artists were only utilized for subordinate works and for ornamentation. This is a fact, that is now won for the history of art and for the French school."

Note 151. Deville, A. *Comptes de Depenses de la Construction du Chateau de Gaillon* etc. Paris. 1850. 1851. p. 12. -- T Tipaldo (in *Elogio di Fra Giocondo*) and Selvatico further men-

mention the ascription to Fra Giocondo. (See Vasari. Vol. 5. p. 266. N. 3.).

But a remark on the building accounts of the Chateau at Gaillon may be found in Montaiglon,¹⁵² which deserves full consideration as coming from one of such profound erudition. Concerning the presence of Antonio di Giusti in Gaillon, he calls attention, like Deville in his comparison, to the payments made to him amounting to only 447 livres tournois, instead of at least 536, which should perhaps be increased to 736, but adds:— "however the sum indicates little, since we do not now possess all the accounts of Gaillon".

Note 152. In *La Famille des Juste*. p. 18.

The latter fact alone takes away all value from Deville's conclusion, that from the silence of the building accounts mentioned, Fra Giocondo had nothing at all to do with the Chateau at Gaillon. And even if these accounts were complete, then must one always oppose the view, that the silence of the documents must already be regarded as proof of the incorrectness of a statement transmitted in a different way. Courajod also writes at a very recent date:-- "Deville does not sufficiently enter into what the building at Gaillon contains of Italian and Italian germs." moreover it would be very possible in this case, that while Fra Giocondo was paid by the king, in case he prepared for the minister Georges d'Amboise divers drawings for the Chateau at Amboise, may either have received no remuneration for the latter work, or this may not have been included in the building accounts proper, as very frequently occurred at that time, when artists were often compensated by benefices. Might not one decide with equal justice, that Jean Cousin never created anything whatever, since as l. de Laborde asserts, his name nowhere occurs in the royal accounts remaining to us?

Note 153. In *La Sculpture Française avant la Renaissance classique*. p. 18. Paris. 1891.

Note 154. In *La Renaissance des Arts at la Cour de France*. Vol. 1. p. 307. Paris. 1850.

By Pietro da Mercolano on the one hand, with the important architectural conditions of the gardens at the Chateau of Gaillon, and by Antonio di Giusto on the other with the sculpt-

sculptures and the arabesques, the Chateau of the Cardinal of Amboise is both connected with another head of the school of Amboise, Pacello da Mercoliano, and also with the atelier of the Giusti in Tours; therefore a connection of Gaillon with the artistic head of the school of Amboise, to which the Chateau of Gaillon belongs, would then be very probable.

Of the former *Chambre des Comptes* at Paris, likewise ascribed to Fra Giocondo and burned in 1787, the author has found no sufficient representation, from which one can decide, whether any characteristic or a general arrangement may strengthen this tradition in any way. As shown by Fig. 26¹⁵⁵, the exterior has no Italian appearance of any kind.¹⁵⁶

Note 155. Reproduction from Israel Silvestre.

Note 156. According to Bance, who is little trustworthy, Pierre Jouvelin and Nicolle Violle appear to have built the *Chambre des Comptes* in the Palace of Justice. According to an inscription given by him, the construction lasted from 1486 to 1489. If this be correct, Fra Giocondo would actually be excluded.

The arcades of the former Chateau at Bury are reproduced in Fig. 27,¹⁵⁷ which according to an inventory of the widow of Florimond Robertet must appear to be a work of Fra Giocondo. Yet this conjecture has not been confirmed.

Note 157. Reproduced from Du Cerceau. *Les plus excellent Portiments etc.* Vol. 2.

When one sees to what a degree a Fleming, Gian Bologna, became Italian in his art, why should it not be possible for Fra Giocondo to adopt various French peculiarities in working out his designs, and indeed so much the more, since (born in Verona in 1435 at latest) he saw only Gothic employed in his native city during his first 15 or 20 years? One may further consider that 20 years after the brother had left France, and Italian forms had become disseminated much more, Boccadoro retained numerous French peculiarities on the Paris Hotel-da Ville.

In a dispatch from the Venetian ambassador Francesco Morosini to the council of ten, he writes of Fra Giocondo among other things:-- --"He also has a provision (salary) from the king for the skill, with which he has made an aqueduct to lead

water to his gardens in Blois. He is in great intimacy with the duke of Sora, and he is in relations with M. Philibert, whom he has served as secretary. He read Vitruvius to him, for he loves to occupy himself with the mathematical sciences, architecture and military engines". Through Fra Giocondo, the ambassador became acquainted with certain articles of the treaty made between the king, the king of the Romans, and the duke of Burgundy.

Note 158. Brochet, A. Les Archives de Venise. Histoire de la Chancellerie secrete. p. 512. Paris. 1870.

2. Domenico da Cortona, properly Bernabei, called Boccadoro.

71. Notes on his Life.

In order to come to a correct decision concerning Domenico da Cortona, several notes relating to him are first collected here, which refer to his employment previous to the building of the Hotel-de-Ville in Paris.

In the Symbolae Litterarie of Gori, cited by Mariette, 159 Domenico is designated as a pupil of Giulio da Sangallo; it is further said, that he built for the king of France two magnificent palaces, one of which was the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, and that he died in the service of Henry II in 1549.¹⁶⁰

Note 159. In Abecedario. Vol. 1. p. 123.

Note 160. Symbolae Litterarie etc. Vol. 6. p. 172. No. 308. Florence. 1751. (I owe to M. Eugene Müntz a communication of the exact title and contents of this work).

Already in the years 1495, 1497 and 1498, we find Domenico among the 22 masters of the most diverse kinds, which Charles VIII brought in 1495 (on Dec. 24) from his kingdom of Sicily, i.e., from Naples and took into his service; they formed the Italian colony of Tours.¹⁶¹ Domenico is designated as "joiner in all works and builder of chateaus," which corresponds to the Italian "legnajuolo"; he received a tolerably high salary, namely 240 livres tournois.

Note 161. Archives de l'Art Francois. Vol. 1. p. 124, n.

When the old Bridge of Notre Dame at Paris fell in 1499, Domenico was named among the masters, who were examined at that time in regard to this occurrence.¹⁶²

Note 162. Leroux de Lincy. Histoire de l'Hotel-de-Ville de Paris etc. Part 1. p. 182. Paris. 1846.

Nov. 11, 1510:-- Dominique de Gortone, Italian joiner. Worked on the furniture of the Chateau at Blois.

June 5, 1512, he acquired two adjacent houses at Blois, remained in possession of them for 18 years, and appears to have transformed them into one.

Domenico is designated as "valet-de-chambre and cabinet-maker of the queen," probably of queen Claude.¹⁶³

Note 163. Croy, F. de. *Nouveaux Documents sur l'Histoire de la Creation des Residences royales des Bords de la Loire.* p. 103. Paris. 1894.

At the obsequies of Louis XII in the year 1515, he caused to be built the framework for supporting the image of the deceased king and the canopy for protecting this image, likewise the catafalque in the Church of Notre Dame as a sepulchral chapel in the form of a Greek cross 15 ft. long, whose four facades each rested on two octagonal piers terminating in pinnacles; over the intersection a central tower rose 26 ft. higher with small turrets at the angles, crowned by 13 crosses and decorated by candles.¹⁶⁴

Note 164. Friendly communication of M. H. de Champeaux from *Comptes des Obsequies et Funerailles du roi Louis XII.* Archives Nationales. K. K. 89.

By an account of April 24, 1518, it may be seen that Domenico was then conducting the following works in Amboise.

1. In the Chateau, the erection of the scaffolds in the galleries for the baptism of the dauphin.

2. The construction of a festal hall for the marriage of the duke of Urbino and Madelaine de la Tour d'Auvergne (in the inner court).

3. the Bastillon or great market-place of Amboise for the baptismal tournament, which lasted 8 days; this work was greatly hurried; Domenico was engaged on it for 26 days and 10 nights and received therefor 60 livres. Perhaps in connection with the design by Leonardo da Vinci. (See Art. 32 and Fig. 16).¹⁶⁵

Note 165. Croy, J. de. p. 22, 105.

For works executed by Dominique de Courtonne, architect,¹⁶⁶ between 1516 and 1531 at the command of the king, thereby incurring great losses, he received from Francis I a gift of 900 livres, which nearly equals his salary for four years. This

appears to have been for wooden models for the city and chateaus of Tournay, of Arches and Chambord, for bridge-, wind-, horse-and hand-mills. ¹⁶⁷

Note 167. Patrons, en levee de boys etc. Archives Nationales, J-960; Comptes des Batiments du Roy, by Marquis de Laborde, published by Minguiffrey. Vol. 2. p. 204.

On March 8, 1531, Michel Cosson declared that the house in Blois, which had belonged to Dominique de Cortonne since 1512, had passed into his possession. ¹⁶⁸

Note 168. Croy, J. de. p. 105.

May 8, 1531, for the coronation of Eleonora of Austria, the master at the command of the king constructed the scaffolds and platforms in the Abbey Church of S. Denis for the ceremonial, and he executed the work in the hall of the Palace of the city of Paris for the banquet at the entry of the queen. For both (the value of the lumber in the Abbey Church of S. Denis being included), he received 200 livres. ¹⁶⁹

Note 169. Croy. p. 104.

September 1532 to March 1533; during the stately meeting of Francis I and Henry VIII on the field of the Cloth of Gold, Domenico is again found busy. The completion of a great buffet in cabinet work is mentioned, and further that the Grand Master de Montmorency had him especially come from Paris to Boulogne in order to arrange, execute and hasten various works. ¹⁷⁰ H. de Champeaux considers this to be the arrangement of the royal apartments in the Abbey.

Note 170. De Laborde, L. La Renaissance des Arts. Vol. 1. p. 290.

From this clearly follows:--

1. That Boccadoro had already been more than 8 months in Paris, when the first mention of his model for the Hotel-de-Ville in Paris was known.

2. The fact, that he was especially called from Paris to Boulogne by an occasion, on which the courts of France and England endeavored to excel each other in magnificence, affords proof, that something was expected from him, that other masters were unable to undertake.

72. Conclusions.

What conclusions may be deduced from the preceding statements?

The idea, that Domenico da Cortona was merely a technically skilled carpenter, is entirely untenable; for in that case he would not have been brought to France, where carpenters were then generally much more skilful than in Italy, on account of the existing more complex requirements. One must doubtless consider him as a "legnajuolo", such as the two Sangallos were, who were at the same time architects and military engineers, and who started with the carpenter's trade, passing to all branches of architecture.

J. de Groy is clearly right, when he speaks of the peculiarities of Domenico as a poser and improvisator. The important part played by him in the decorations for such important festivals, as for the obsequies of Louis XII (1515), for the baptism and marriage in Amboise (1518), for the coronation of E Eleanor of Austria (1531), and on the field of the cloth of gold (1531-1532), each in places distant from his dwelling in Blois, shows that the king regarded him as the most suitable artist for giving to the splendor of the court an honorable expression on such occasions.

The large compensation awarded to him by Francis I in 1531, according to the account of his secret expenditures, for the various works executed by him in the last 15 years at the royal command, permits him to frequently appear as court and royal architect, whome the king desired to have at hand in order to prepare for the execution of his own ideas.

When one sees Domenico with such a position after 1512 and as the owner of a house in Blois during 18 years, i.e., until about the moment when Francis I began to consider the rebuilding of the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris and the Louvre, this indeed happened because he could make himself most useful to the king in Blois. It must further arouse attention in the highest degree, if the master in this position also prepared a model for the Chateau at Chambord, and if one further thinks of the affinity of the principle in the subdivision of the p piers at the stairways in the Chateaus at Blois and at Chambord (Figs. 81 to 83), and of many other elements of relationship in style, as well as of the mouldings, which indicate a common creative influence. (Also see Fig. 84).

73. Model for the Chateau at Chambord.

It is well to understand, if F. de Groy regards it as prob-

probable, that the wooden model for the Chateau at Chambord, which Felibien still saw in a house at Blois and described, was made by Domenico da Cortona. Even the arrangement of the stairs in straight flights, as de Croy reghtly remarks, makes in that time an Italian composition or treatment of the model appear probable.¹⁷¹ The difference between this model and the execution, although considerable in certain points, is not so great in the description and words of Felibien, as one would believe from de Croy. Felibien says:--¹⁷²"The number of the rooms and their arrangement approximates unusually closely to what was built, with the exception of the stairways". De Croy makes of this :--"The work has only a very slight similarity to the actual building".

Note 171. Even in the year 1548, this form of stairway was termed Italian at the Louvre.

Note 172. In Felibien, A. *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire des Maisons royales et Bostiments de France*. p. 28. Paris. 1874.

Exactly the contrary is the most characteristic ground idea in Domenico's model; the square with four angle towers, and so to speak, subdivided by a Greek cross into four different chateaus, was retained in the construction. The final conclusion of de Croy is certainly carried too far, that even if Domenico was the designer and not merely the maker of this model; yet one cannot award to him the merit of the original conception of this model, since his plans were not followed. On the contrary, one can very well understand, that Bournon¹⁷³ regarded Domenico as the actual architect of the Chateau at Chambord, and that to the same master was also attributed the wing of Francis I on the Chateau at Blois. De Croy also finds his real feelings again, when he says:--"The presence of this Italian artist on the banks of the Loire, when these monuments of the Renaissance were erected, appears to justify all conjectures concerning the part he might have taken therein".

Note 172. See the latest Paris Grande Encyclopedie, Art. Chambord.

Great probability has the idea of de Croy, that Domenico da Cortona built the wooden covered galleries and the middle pav-

pavilion of the royal gardens at Blois; they were filled with excellent joinery. These gardens came from Pacello da Mercoliano and exhibit entirely Italian plans; Boccador was the master in Italian woodwork, who was there in time and place.

We shall also frequently have to return to Domenico in the following. (See the descriptions of the Chateaus at Blois and Chambord, of the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, and of the Church S. Eustache there).

8. Other Italians of Amboise.

74. Pacherot.

Besides the two already named, three additional masters of the colony of Amboise may be mentioned.

First is Jerome Pacherot, whom Charles VIII brought with him from Italy. He had settled in Tours, was married, and is designated as "marble cutter of the king" in various documents. He executed in the year 1507 in Gaillon a marble fountain, that shows great analogy to that at Blois. The appellation of "master workman of masonry" permits the inference, that instead of furnishing ideas for the treatment of buildings, like the "designers of buildings", he rather occupied himself chiefly with their construction. His influence may therefore have been considerable in a different way.

Note 174. De Groy. p. 115.

75. Mazzoni.

For the versatility, well known as one of the most interesting peculiarities of the Italian masters in the Renaissance period, must a man be considered, that chiefly worked as a sculptor, but who was honored in a strange way by Charles VIII and therefore was in a position to exert an influence upon questions connected with architecture. This was Guido Mazzoni from Modena, also called Pasanino or Modanino. We limit ourselves here to repeating the words of de Montaiglon,¹⁷⁵ as follows:--"France, ungrateful and forgetful, has retained no memory of a man, who dwelt there too long and was too near to its king, not to leave behind many works by his own hand, many examples and also many evils, and who could not fail to exert in the most varied ways a great influence. Italian authors have preserved the recollection of his abilities.---- He especially worked in terra cotta and painted his works.

Charles VIII took Guido into his service as soon as he knew him, and he was among those knighted by the king on the day of his entrance into Naples (May 12, 1495). (The gate was opened to him on Feb. 21). His wife Pellegrina Discalzi came with him and also worked; she died in France. Mazzini left France a year after the accession to the throne of Francis I, laden with gold and silver, and he settled again in his native city of Modena on June 19, 1516, where he died two years later. If as probable, he came to France in 1495 with Charles VIII, then he remained there for 21 years."

Note 175. Archives de l'Art Francois. Vol. 1. p. 125.

76. Becjame.

Of the second "designer of buildings" of the colony of Amboise, Luc Becjame, we merely know, that the ovens built there by him for artificial incubation of eggs succeeded remarkably, and that Francis I rebuilt in the year 1533 in the Chateau at Montrichard the Italian incubators employed from 1496 at Amboise.

4. The Giusti from Florence in Tours.

77. Family of the Giusti.

Although not belonging to the original colony of the 22 Italians at Amboise, mention must still be made in this place of the artist family of the Giusti. These masters, whose name was translated into French (Juste), were frequently regarded as Frenchmen from Tours. De Montaignon and Milanese have corrected this error and have proved the derivation of the G Giusti from Florence.¹⁷⁶ We shall again find these masters in the later chapter on tombs.

Note 176. Montaignon, A. de & G. Milanese. La Famille des Juste en Italie et en France. Paris. 1877. -- Also, Societe de l'Histoire de l'Art Francaise. p. 2. Paris. 1876. -- It is there said:--"The Juste have long been established at Tours,-- but the school of the Loire is indebted to and imitates them, when they own it nothing. The Juste are Italians and their works are Italian in the first place".).

It is generally assumed, that the Giusti introduced the pilasters with the arabesque panels into France. But they can only have disseminated them, if the Tomb in Dol (1507) is proved to be their first work. The arabesque pilasters are pe-

peculiar to many Italian schools, and they are already found in the works of Laurana in Tarascon and Marseilles in 1476 and 1481, and in the most beautiful form in 1496 in Solesmes. The assumption that the Tomb of the children of Charles VIII at Tours, which was completed in 1506, is due to them is not conclusively proved, but indeed their authorship of the Tomb of Louis XII. The latter shows that they were in position, more than Paganino, at least to frequently contribute to the dissemination of Italian forms and motives.

The real family name of the Giusti is Betti; they came from S. Martino a Mensola near Florence. In France were settled the three brothers Antonio di Giusti, Giovanni di Giusti and Andrea, as well as the son of the eldest brother, called Juste de Antoine Juste. The Giovanni, who is seen in 1559 and 1560 in Oiron and at the entry of Mary Stuart into Tours, was very probably a Giovanni II.

Since the works and localities of the Giusti belong to those centres, from which Italian forms must have spread, some data concerning them may be collected in the following.

Antonio di Giusti; 1479-1519. First mentioned in 1508 and 1509 as working in Gaillon. Great alabaster figures of apostles in the chapel; relief of the Battle of Genoa; a great greyhound; a great stag's head; portraits of Monseigneur (the Cardinal) and of a child, -- both as medallions.

1510; a doe in wax for Louis XII in Blois; was the owner of vines in Orchaize in the district of Blois.

1508, 1514, 1516; mention of his house in Carrara, and designated as sculptor of his majesty, king of France; Aug. 20; delivery of marble blocks according to dimensions given by him.

Giovanni di Giusti (Jehan de Juste), born 1485; the most important artist in the family.

1507; completed his Tomb for Thomas James in Dol (Brittany).

1518; Tomb of Jean de Rieux, marshal of Brittany, formerly in Nantes.

1517-1531; Tomb of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany.

1521. Purchases a house with his wife Agnes.

1521. Rents his farm L. Bodiniere in the district of Tours.

1521. He and his nephew Juste de Antoine Juste separate their business.

1522; designated in Tours as sculptor to the king.

1548; again mentioned.

Juste de Antoine Juste; 1505-1558 (?).

1521, July 1; separates from his uncle Giovanni, in whose service he remained.

1522; he and his mother Isabeau de Pace buy a house in Tours.

1529; designated as sculptor in marble, dwelling in Tours.

1530; as sculptor in marble, a statue of Hercules and one of Leda for the king.

1530-1531; settled near Fontainebleau, still in the service of the king.

1535-1536; worked on the stucco decorations of the great gallery in Fontainebleau.

1538, Dec. 31, for four years past sculptor in marble to the king.

1548; his wife still lived in Tours.

On the two similar tombs in Oiron, one of which is dated in 1539, the pilasters exhibit capitals like the Doric with a long and fluted necking. The capital proper consists of an egg-and-dart moulding without an abacus, in place of the latter being a broad fillet above a smaller one beneath the ovolo. Such a plain treatment is unusual, but indeed occurs on the Palace, that Giulino da Sangallo built for Giuliano della Rovere (Julius II) in Savona. Now Giusto da Antonio di Michele, the father of the three Giusti, who went to France, indeed furnished in 1486 for the Church Madonna delle Carceri in Prato a series of fluted pilasters with 16 bases, and Giuliano da Sangallo was architect of this church; -- might any relations between Giuliano and the Giusti sons have originated thereby?

Other Italians working in France will also be mentioned later in the course of this volume.

5. Various Centres of Italo-French Cooperation.

78. Stonecutters in France.

After a view of the activity and of the participation of the Italian masters has been given by some preceding examples, some words must be said on the work of a more modest class of Italians, stonecutters or carvers of arabesques (scarpellini). The appellation of "chiselers" employed for them by Rivoalen is fairly applicable. The number of these, who remained in

France during the period from 1495 to 1540, especially in the first half of that time, is probably much greater, than one is at first disposed to accept. One would likewise scarcely err in assuming, that to the labors of one or two such stonecutters for a few weeks or months is to be attributed the existence and sporadic occurrence of a number of Italian ornaments on otherwise late Gothic monuments. Rivoalen must here be entirely right in saying:--¹⁷⁷ "For this enriching of the expiring Gothic were at the same time employed the French stonecutters and the Italian carvers. For in France Italian artists or workmen gradually became less necessary for the revival of an art, whose early masters, Lescot, Bullant and De l'Orme had gone to seek the sources and principles on the spot; the French stonecutters have gradually mastered the slight of hand, the delicacy in chiseling, and the appreciation of graduated shading, which were peculiar to the Italians?"

79. Tomb of duke Francis II at Nantes.

Every architectural work, on which even two or three Italian stonecutters were employed, became a more or less intensive centre for the gradual dissemination of the new mode of decoration, according to the existing circumstances and the talents of these carvers, mostly from upper Italy. The buildings at Amboise, the Chateaus at Gaillon, Chambord and Blois, the Priory at Solesmes, and the Chateau at Bonnivet, belong to the most important centres of this kind. Courajod has reached the same views in this respect.¹⁷⁸

Note 177. *Origines de la Renaissance en France.* t. 41. Paris. 1888.

Note 178. In Planat, P. *Encyclopédie de l'Architecture et de la Construction.* Vol. 6. p. 568.

What is said above likewise applies, where the ornamentation is limited to arabesques in panels of pilasters and on walls, to capitals, and to a few medallions and mouldings. This suffices to bring thence into use in a French imitation or interpretation the new mode of decoration on a neighboring building, on sunken surfaces, on mouldings, and on similar architectural parts of an otherwise Gothic structure.

It will suffice to mention a single such centre. This is the Tomb of Francis II, the last duke of Brittany, at Nantes. On this may be likewise seen the Italo-French influence, occ-

occurring from 1502 to 1506. The drawing of the entire composition is due to Jehan Perreal. Michel Coulombe with two journeyman sculptors worked on the statues for five years at 20 thalers (\$15) monthly, the latter at 8 thalers (\$6) each monthly, also with two Italian stonecutters, who received the same wages. The execution was again frequently superintended by Perreal, and he also supervised the setting in place. The Italian treatment, probably due to Jeronimo da Fiesole, must be an entirely independent undertaking of the latter.

Note 179. Charvet; Jehan Perreal etc. p. 67; also the letter of Perreal already published by Fitton.

80. Extension of the School of the Loire.

In the preceding can be given no thorough description of the manner in which by such centres was extended the school of the Loire, which may be designated as the first "royal Italo-French school". Yet it should be desirable to contribute some statements in regard to certain masters and works thereof, what are suitable for a better understanding of the entire question. They likewise frequently permit recognition of homogeneity with the most distant works.

a. The marble fountain of the gardens at Blois, paid for in 1503, was executed in Tours,¹⁸⁰ probably as de Croy conjectures, by the Italian Jerome Pacherot, who erected a similar fountain in 1507 at Gaillon.¹⁸¹

Note 180. Croy, J. D. p. 115.

Note 181. It was destroyed by the overthrow of the pavilion during a hurricane. Fragments of it are to be found in the C chateau there. (Croy. p. 115).

b. A manifold connection of the works at Gaillon with those on the Loire results from the following facts.

Pierre Valence, master mason from Tours, was in 1503 frequently called to Gaillon to supervise the building of the chateau; he remained there also for longer periods, likewise worked on the Palace of the Archbishop in Rouen, was also questioned concerning the Cathedral there, and he erected in 1508 the Venetian fountains at Gaillon.

c. The gardens at Gaillon, begun in 1506, had an entirely Italian character and were a creation of Pietro da Mercoliano¹⁸²; thereby by this alone is already shown the similarity to those at Blois in the clearest manner, both by documents

and by style. The fountain, which was made in 1507 by the Italian Jerome Pacherot for Gaillon, has already been mentioned under a.

Note 182. See further on this matter in the chapter on gardens.

d. Marshal de Gie, governor of Amboise under Louis XII, called Colin Byard to oversee and visit some works in his Chateau du Verger at Anjou, then in the Chateau at Amboise, and later in Blois; he is designated as master mason in the city of Blois.

Georges d'Amboise sent him three times between 1504 and 1506 to oversee and visit the works, which he had executed at Gaillon and at Rouen. He is designated once as master mason of Gaillon;¹⁸³ yet de Groy does not regard him as the chief master of the works at Blois and at Ambois; according to the latter view, this concerned a temporary consultation.

Note 183. See Deville. p. 126, 133, 166.

e. When in 1516 the magnificent Tomb of the Cardinal of Amboise was to be erected, Pierre Valence in Tours was first asked whether he would undertake this work.

f. Although relating to artistic gardens, the following statement is useful for understanding the manner in which art forms may have been transplanted from one building to another. Chateau "La Bourdasie", built by Francis I in 1520 on the Cher opposite Azay¹⁸⁴ and belonging to the family of Babou, received mulberry trees from the royal gardens at Blois and again supplied them in 1554 to Diana de Poitiers in Chenonceaux.¹⁸⁵

Note 184. See Le Chateau d'Amboise et ses Environs. Guide Guillard-Verger. Tours. p. 15.

Note 185. Groy. p. 127.

g. The extent of the activity of the Giusti is well shown by the communication, that Antonio di Giusto (Antoine Juste) was owner of a vineyard called "Closerie du Roy", located in the district of Blois, and in the year 1519 sold by his widow to Bernard Salviaty.¹⁸⁶ He made in 1510 for Blois the waxen painted doe.¹⁸⁷

Note 186. Groy. p. 119.

Note 187. Groy. p. 118.

1. The first of the...
2. The second of the...
3. The third of the...

4. The fourth of the...
5. The fifth of the...
6. The sixth of the...

7. The seventh of the...
8. The eighth of the...
9. The ninth of the...

10. The tenth of the...
11. The eleventh of the...
12. The twelfth of the...
13. The thirteenth of the...
14. The fourteenth of the...
15. The fifteenth of the...

16. The sixteenth of the...
17. The seventeenth of the...
18. The eighteenth of the...
19. The nineteenth of the...
20. The twentieth of the...

21. The twenty-first of the...
22. The twenty-second of the...
23. The twenty-third of the...
24. The twenty-fourth of the...
25. The twenty-fifth of the...
26. The twenty-sixth of the...

27. The twenty-seventh of the...
28. The twenty-eighth of the...
29. The twenty-ninth of the...
30. The thirtieth of the...
31. The thirty-first of the...
32. The thirty-second of the...

h. In case of architectural works attributed to Fra Giocondo, if actually influenced by him, then do they likewise come from the school of the Loire, as later the case for the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris.

i. Finally, the transfer to Paris by Louis XII of the Italian colony of artists called to Amboise by Charles VIII, and its final installation in Hotel de Nesle ¹⁸⁸ is an important fact in the extension of the school of the Loire northwards.

Note 188. Courajod, L. Les Origines de la Renaissance etc. p. 40. Paris. 1888.

6. Form of Italian and French Cooperation.

81. Origin of the Designs.

The attempt will be made in the following, to give a description of the manner in which during the period before about 1530, the drawings and models for executed buildings were produced. First may be recalled as proof, that some had the proper appreciation of the "twofold nature" of that period, the various designations employed, as for example, Franco-Gallia in Hotman, France-Italy, ¹⁸⁹ or "those furious and mad beasts, the Medici-Valois", etc., even if these originated at a somewhat later time. ¹⁹⁰

Note 189. Memoires de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX par H. Wolf. 1570. Vol. 1. p. 366. Meidelberg.

Note 190. Le Reveille-Matin des Francois et de leurs Voisins. By Nicolas Bernard. 1574. p. 113. Geneva.

In order to obtain the working drawings, the procedure in many cases was similar to that 100 years earlier in the masons' lodge of Milan Cathedral. The German and the French architects there worked out their designs in order to have their ideas and motives at command. Then the engineers selected from these so much as found beautiful, and transferred the accepted ideas with reference to the existing conditions and the Italian taste, several foreigners cooperating therein. The circumstances were reversed in France; the Italian designs were transferred by reason of French arrangements and were harmonized with the native taste. It must not be forgotten here, that on Milan Cathedral not merely the northerners were Gothic architects, but also the Milanese to a certain degree, and that therefore the transformation to the Italian taste t

there would far more readily occur, than in France, where the use of antique architecture did not prevail until the time of Louis XII.¹⁹¹

Note 191. The author has described this procedure in his Study; *Le Passe, la Present, l'Avenir de la Cathedrale de Milan*. *Gaz. des B. Arts*. 1890.

To explain everything on such buildings, that either Fra G Giocondo or another Italian has not done in the general appearance, as well as in the development of the particular building in Italy itself, there are many possibilities.

a. Either Fra Giocondo himself devised this work in a manner composed of French and Italian elements, and indeed simply for the reason, that the then existing plane of development of the French taste did not admit anything else. (As shown in Arts. 55 and 56).

b. Or we stand in presence of a French transformation of an Italian design.

c. Or Fra Giocondo has in parts Italianized a French design submitted to him, so far as the conditions and French taste permitted, whereupon the design was executed by French masters with the cooperation of Italian stonecutters.

d. It must finally not be excluded, that at first a cooperation of French and Italian artists occurred, and that during the various phases of this common labor, one or the other of the three first possibilities became true.

In the transformed designs might occur four different groups of elements, such as:--

- a. Purely Gothic elements.
- b. Gothic elements transformed into the Italian style.
- c. Italian elements transformed into the Gothic style.
- d. Italian motives and details, that were unchanged.

In the preparation of the final designs, the native master concerned needed again for groups a, b and c, -- according to the existing conditions, to his capability, and to whether he knew Italy or not, -- the touch of an Italian element, whether in the person of an Italian architect, who had already made a preliminary design, or had cooperated in the preparation of the first design, or whether in the person of a more subordinate draftsman, who devoted himself to the preparation of

the working drawings. For group d, Italian stonecutters were at first exclusively utilized.

82. Stonecutters and stonecarvers working together.

However surprising it may appear, the representation, which Rivoalen ¹⁹² gives of the cooperation of the Italian and French stonemasons, is in many points correct. The procedure in Gaillon can only have been partly of this kind. "In the north as in the south", he writes, "in the east as in the west, on the borders of the Loire as on the Place de Greve (place of Hotel-de-Ville in Paris), Italians stood on the scaffolds, elbow to elbow with Frenchmen, -- working on the boss assigned to each one by the master. To one being assigned the refinement of an entirely ideal and conventional arabesque with shallow chiseling and infinitely delicate graduation, by a Milanese or Florentine, -- to the other being assigned a deep and strong relief rising from a deeply sunken ground with marked ornamentation, its elements taken from the native flora, luxuriantly welling beneath the Gallic bubbling spirit of the chisel of the stonecutter from Touraine or Normandy, Burgundy or Paris. The French stonecutter's chisel, accustomed to the swelling luxuriance of the curled lettuce or chicory is to be recognized after the beginning of the French Renaissance, in Gaillon as at Azay, in Auvergne as in Brittany". Courajod already earlier spoke of the cooperation of Italians and Frenchmen, just like Rivoalen.

Note 192. Planot. Vol. 6. p. 567. Art. Styles Francois.

Aside from the tendency in taste, which required the retention of many native elements, there were yet other reasons, that made indispensable the participation of French masters; such as a thorough knowledge of building materials, diversity of the technical procedure, familiarity with many native customs etc. Even ignorance of the French language, which must be assumed for most Italian masters, made the necessary mediation a true cooperation, whereby as might well occur today, it might seem to the natives, that they and their fellow citizens played the chief part, the more so because in many cases this actually happened.

83. Summary.

If one collects together the matters more fully illustrated

in the preceding, the following results are obtained for many cases. The design was a compromise and the product of Italian-French cooperation or an embodiment of the programme fixed upon by the owner, which was changed alternately by Italians and Frenchmen until the determination of the design to be built. The execution in each trade was entrusted to a native master in harmony or according to another process. In the preparation of the working drawings as well as in laying out the ornament and decorations, in addition to the French and according to circumstances, one or more Italians took part as draftsmen or as stonecarvers. Their assistance and the ornamentation were always the new element in the style.

Certainly at the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, where an Italian was at hand, who had already been employed in the country for 35 years, and who had become acquainted with the tastes and the needs of the French, it was possible that the design was due to Domenico da Cortona alone, and that to him was likewise entrusted the highest supervision of the execution.

84. Tangible Examples.

A tangible representation of the method employed on many architectural works is afforded to us by the erection of the first stone bridge at Paris, the Bridge of Notre Dame, in which Fra Giocondo played the decisive part, in spite of frequent attempts to lessen his participation.

The old wooden bridge fell down on Oct. 25, 1499.¹⁹³ For the rebuilding of a bridge, those versed in construction were called from all parts of France, among them being also Fra Giocondo and Domenico da Cortona.

Note 193. See *Histoire Generale de Paris* etc. Vol. 1. Paris. 1876-1885. Bonnardot, P. *Régistre des Deliberations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris, etc.* I. 1499-1526.

On March 12, 1499 (1500 new style), the painter Gautier de Gampes was directed to prepare a "figure or portrait" of the newly projected bridge. This model was to unite in a general way the various preferences derived from the consultations of a series of shipmen, bridge-architects, and other technicians. Among the latter was Fra Giocondo.

On July 6, 1500, occurred a consultation between Fra Giocondo and the masters of the work, concerning the height and fo-

form of the future bridge arches. Both the former and also Didier de Melin each laid before the council of the city a design. It was decided to determine the form of the arches only after the piers had been built above the water level.¹⁹⁴

Note 194. Jean d'Esculant, Jean Joconde, and Jean de Dogec, all of which attended the consultation of July 11, 1500, are not at all the same person, as Sauval believed; the one first named was also a monk.

In three sittings between Aug. 10 and 26, 1500, attended by Fra Giocondo, the masters of the work decided on the works required for each bridge pier.

On Nov. 25, 1502, the height of the bridge arches was finally fixed; Fra Giocondo and Jean d'Esculant were present at the sitting.

Le Roux de Lincy¹⁹⁵ believes that from the registers of the city and of the parliament must be drawn the conclusion, that Fra Giocondo determined the designs for the Bridge of Notre Dame, rather than that he superintended its execution. Yet since to him and to Jean d'Esculant was also entrusted on Nov. 25, 1502, the control of the cut stone work, this is indeed a function, that includes an important part of the execution of the work.

Note 195. See Le Roux de Lincy. *Recherches historiques sur la chute de la construction du pont Notre Dame a Paris. 1499-1510.* Paris. 1845-1846. (In Library of Ecole des Chartes).

This is likewise shown by the fact, that after Fra Giocondo had been called several times into the commission, to which was transferred the higher supervision of the construction of the bridge, on July 20, 1504, was busied in leveling the bridge, together with the chief master of the work, Jean de Felin.¹⁹⁶ It should not be forgotten here, that the special registers of the erection of this bridge have been lost. The importance of this undertaking for that period invested it with a certain solemnity, as Le Roux de Lincy remarks, which only appears in the true light, when one sees how during the building of the Bridge Pont Neuf nearly 100 years later, the proportions of Bridge Notre Dame were continually studied.¹⁹⁷

Note 196. See Le Roux de Lincy. p. 39.

Note 197. See the author's *Les Du Cerceau. Section of Bridge Pont Neuf.*

For deciding the matter, the following is further of importance. On Nov. 18, 1504, the Venetian ambassador Francesco Morosini writes to his government from Paris. "Here is a monk, Fra Giocondo from Verona, in the service of this illustrious community of Paris. The city has paid him for erecting a bridge, that he has built across the Seine, and which is a very beautiful work."¹⁹⁸

Note 198. See Boschet, -. *Les Archives de Venise. Histoire de la Chancellerie secrete.* p. 562. Paris. 1870.

The true connection of Fra Giocondo with the construction of the Paris Bridge of Notre Dame must finally be deduced from the fact, that the city of Paris had the following distich executed as an inscription upon an arch of its new and first stone bridge.

Jucundus geminos posuit tibi, Sequana, pontes;
Hunc tu jure potes dicere Pontificem.¹⁹⁹

Note 199. Le Roux de Lincy refers concerning this inscription, printed innumerable times, to *Les Antiquities de Paris.* Folio 150. Paris. 1561.

This would certainly have been an inexplicable, even an inconceivable flattery of a foreign master, who had left France before the entire completion of the bridge. In spite of this, Le Roux de Lincy writes:--"According to this, Giocondo cannot be regarded as the architect of Bridge Notre Dame. The unity of the intellectual conception, that such a designation presumes, did not exist in the thought of that time; but it is certain, that the part is great, which he took in the work. He would therefore be repaid by the fame connected with his name. The Parisians already desired in the 16 th century to perpetuate the enduring memory of his name by that distich."

85. Final Results.

The preceding explanations and descriptions must have led to the following final conclusions.

a. By the cooperation of the Italian colony at Amboise with the native masters originated the first French Renaissance school, that of the Loire and at Gaillon.

b. In this cooperation, the Italian part is far greater, than this tendency has been assumed to be, since Emeric David, Deville, Palustre and other writers, and than the style of

these buildings permits to be assumed, when compared with contemporary works in Italy.

c. It is in nowise impossible, that Fra Giocondo actually had an important creative part in the works in Paris and in Gaillon attributed to him.

d. He has probably influenced in parts other architectural works, as for example, the Chateaus at Amboise and Le Verger.

e. As the first head of the school on the Loire, he may have contributed to its extension to Paris and Gaillon, and he may perhaps have also taken part in the introduction of the Renaissance by the instruction, that he gave on Vitruvius and on other architectural questions. (mouldings ?).

f. After Fra Giocondo was suddenly recalled in 1505 by Julius II to participate in the competition for S. Peter's at Rome, Domenico da Cortona seems to have assumed a very important position, perhaps contemporaneously with the former, and of which relatively little has been known heretofore. His activity on the Loire, especially his participation on that group of buildings, to which belong the Chateaus at Blois, Chambord, Bury etc., was possibly yet more important, than his later part in the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris.

These unusually influential parts as here indicated, that we believe should be claimed for Fra Giocondo and Boccador, according to what has been said, may perhaps be deduced most simply from the fact, almost unheard of in France, but finally determined, that the officials of Paris honored by inscriptions the names of two architects, who were both Italians, namely that of Fra Giocondo by the cited distich on Bridge Notre Dame, and that of Domenico da Cortona or Boccador upon the Hotel-de-Ville.

After I have found myself caused to express in Art. 5 a view so decidedly opposed to Courajod concerning the place of the origin of the Renaissance, I hold it to be my duty to make prominent, that this learned man has quoted the same facts and reached the same conclusions, concerning the participation of the Italians, in three publications,²⁰⁰ that only became accessible to me after the printing of the preceding explanations, to which I had come independently of him.

Note 200. These writings are:-- La Part de l'Italian dans

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quelques monuments de sculpture de la premiere Renaissance F
Francoise. Paris. 1885.

Des Origines de la Renaissance en France etc. au XIVe et au
XVe Siecle etc. Paris. 1888.

La Sculpture Francoise avant la Renaissance classique etc.
Paris. 1891.

Chapter 5. Periods and Phases of the Development of French Architecture from the Beginning of the Renaissance

86. Subdivision into Styles.

It is of great importance to make possible a clear survey and a correct understanding of the homogeneity of the styles of French architecture from the beginning of the Renaissance, as well as of the true architectural nature of its successive phases of development. Therefore we have chosen the formative changes and the character of these phases, as well as their relations to the greater periods of development of the architectural style in question, as a basis for its subdivision, instead of retaining the series of architectural styles named after the different kings. For we believe, that the latter custom not infrequently makes more difficult the scientifically correct understanding of French architecture, since about the year 1495. Yet since this custom is in a high degree fixed and likewise convenient, although the duration of the reigns of the monarchs but seldom coincides with those of the style tendencies named after them, we have likewise added these appellations, though only in the second place.

Already in Arts. 17 to 21, the stylistic connection of the different phases of the architecture in France beginning with the Renaissance was set forth. In Art. 24 and the corresponding graphical illustration (Plate next page 28) it was shown, how these phases of the style until the present day form three great periods of development of approximately equal duration, which in the following may be termed the first, second and third. In each of these three periods of development are again found three different phases, that may be designated as the early, ripe, and late or free. There naturally exists between each two successive phases a time of transition, as well also as between the great divisions of the development, which we have called periods. There exists such an era of transition.²⁰¹ We shall see that since the year 1500 in these transitional forms from one phase to the next, French architecture has thrice attained to its most charming forms in reference to delicacy, maturity, and fresh life. These are:--

Note 201. Although one always stands before a gradual transformation, this seems to me to be in nowise a reason for re-

rejecting with Viollet-le-Duc the system of separate periods of the style with definite names, just as A. de Caumont introduced for Gothic. For just as certain as the gradual transformation of a style is the fact, that it assumes a series of clearly distinguishable steps in development, that sometimes differ most expressively from the preceding, as well as from the succeeding phase.

1. At the close of the early Renaissance and at the beginning of the mature period (Francis I and Henry II).

2. At the end of the style of Louis XIV and at the beginning of the style of Louis XV.

3. During the transition from the latter to the style of Louis XVI.

87. Two main currents.

The first phenomenon in the architecture of France after about 1500, also one of the most interesting and heretofore too little considered, as we believe, is the existence of two currents flowing beside each other, -- a phenomenon, that must even form the basis for the correct understanding of the following statements. The first of these may be designated as the Italian-Antique or the new; the second is the continuation and heiress of the native Gothic or Gallo-Germanic architectural style, and it tends toward a freer, more subjective Franco-Flemish comprehension. It is sometimes believed, that the latter current entirely disappears; yet it appears on closer consideration, that it merely has assumed different forms according to the period, and that just this fact has frequently contributed to obscure the understanding of the homogeneity of the style.

The relation of these two currents to each other, the different spheres in which they work at times, the influences they exert on each other, the manner in which they combine themselves with the influences coming from outside, the alternating predominance of one or the other, the almost total disappearance of one current at times. -- all these phenomena must belong to the most important elements in the development of French architecture; they contribute essentially to the correct understanding of the various phases of the style and of its actual character. It will therefore be our problem to deter-

determine in the different steps of development the perceptible points of view, from which the continuity of the two living sources of French architecture after the beginning of the Renaissance is to be recognized, even when one only runs further beneath the surface, and appears to be entirely lost.

88. Italo-Antique Current.

The purely Italian-Antique tendency in this current is the first, that produced on French soil really architectural monuments, even if on a small scale and flowing little before 1540. It began with the purely Italian works of the masters in the service of the house of Anjou, Francesco da Lovrana and Pietro da Milano, and it continues in the Tombs of the children of Charles VIII and Louis XII, in the designs of the gardens at Amboise, Blois and Gaillon, in some tombs executed by the Giusti family, and in those of the Castle chapel at Oiron. (One in 1539). With the Tomb of Breze at Rouen (1535-1544) by Goujon, the French enter upon the high Renaissance with the style of Henry II. Lescot's Court of the Louvre and Primaticcio's Tomb Chapel of the Valois belong to the most strongly expressed works with this tendency, which forms the prevailing current from 1540 till 1570.

89. Gallo-Germanic or Franco-Flemish Current.

Only some years later and after the succeeding return of Charles VIII from Naples in 1495, did the other or great national current begin to participate in the Renaissance, indeed in the attractive form of the French-Italian compromise style, which gave rise to the styles of Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I. In this continually diminished the multitude of the at first predominating Gothic details; on the contrary, the number of Italian-Antique elements constantly increased, until the latter alone predominated. During the last 8 or 10 years of the reign of Francis I, architecture was changed into the high Renaissance or into the style of Henry II, and it flowed with the Italo-Antique tendency in a single stream.

Yet the entire national stream was not spent in the style of Henry II, nor in the Italo-French compromise style of the early Renaissance. A first, though smaller part of the native Franco-Flemish current continues rather in firm adherence to many Gothic arrangements of church architecture. A second

portion of this current, depending upon the freer treatment of forms, united itself with the elements of Michelangelo's caprices, which both directly as well as by the progress of the capricious and the bizarre, that had been placed in the school of Raphael, were brought to France with the decorations of Rosso and of Primaticcio. Together with the religious wars, these shortened the nobler development of the high Renaissance by a superfluity of caprice and of frequently unhealthy imagination, which attained its climax in the chaos of the time of Henry III and feebly vanished in the confusion of the League.

A third part of the Northern-National tendency, that manifested itself among the Huguenots, is first expressed in the works of B. Palissy, and combined with the Flemish-Hollandish influences ²⁰² and reacting against the digressions of the style in the time of Henry II, it later produced the insipid and angular brick and stone architecture of Sully under Henry IV as well as the arrangement of brickwork, that is shown by one of the two tendencies of the style under Louis XIII. This mode of expression later combined with the free and often fanciful caprice in the decorations by Pietro da Cortona, Bernini, Borromini and their successors, and it brought the free mode of decoration, that moved within severer limits under Louis XIV, but dominated the entire domain under Louis XV, into harmonious development in the brilliant caprices of the Rococo. But besides the ornamentation, the native spirit is reflected during the 17th century in several monuments, such as F. Mansart's Church S. Marie at Paris and in the Triumphant Gates of S. Martin and of S. Denis there, as well as in many types of mansions and houses.

Note 202. For an explanation of this Flemish influence, see in the following pages the introduction to the styles of Henry IV and of Louis XIII.

Many appear to believe, that the Italian-Antique current was suppressed and replaced by the tendency to brickwork under Henry IV and Louis XIII. On many buildings, even in the works of Huguenot masters, like the three younger Du Gerceaus and Salomon de Brosse, it continues further, as on the Louvre, on Palace Luxemburg, in the Chateau at Coulommier, and on the

facade of the Church S. Gervais at Paris; it forms at that time one of the two tendencies of the architectural style predominating then, and it combined in an unbroken way under R Richelieu with the increased reaction to Italy, the succeeding founding in 1466 of the French Academy of Architecture at Rome, and with the more important of the two tendencies of the style here described as existing beside each other, and which has continued until this day.

In the time of the style of Louis XVI, the Northern-National tendency asserted itself in a return to nature. And since we have gone so far, it is no longer difficult to recognize the continuation of this tendency in the increasing Romanticism of our century, even in more than one way in the periods of the revolution and the first empire, in order to establish in such a form the connection with the revival of appreciation of Gothic and of the middle ages in a continuous and unbroken manner.

90. Earlier Italian Monuments in France before 1495.

Before passing to the description of the development of the proper Franco-Italian Renaissance, the attention should be directed to some monuments, though erected on French soil, indeed, but which represent works in Italian Renaissance executed in Florence by Italians. The possibility that these could even originate in France in nowise refutes the principles stated in the preceding chapter; for even the most important of these works, the Chapel at Marseilles, can be counted with that group of ideal structures, in which we have judged it alone possible for the pure Italian monuments to arise. Moreover, these works may be said to all be connected with either the princes of the house of Anjou, whose Italian claims are well known, or two Italian masters, who were in the service of king Rene and are of interest from even the point of view of the Italian Renaissance; these are Pietro da Milano and Francesco Laurana, who is supposed to be a brother of the builder of the Palace at Urbino, Luciano da Laurana;²⁰³ the latter with L. B. Alberti was the most important master in the second generation of architects in the Italian Renaissance. Since Francesco shows himself in his Chapel of Lazarus at Marseilles as belonging to the better Italian architects of

his period, it must be of interest to briefly state the points relating to his stay in France.

Note 203. Formerly written Luciano da Lourano, following the Latin name of his native place. The author learned from Michele Cassi, that this place in Dalmatia is called Lourano.

According to the medals signed by Francesco Laurana, he was from 1461 to 1466 and from 1478 to 1490 in the service of king Renee and of the house of Anjou. Heiss believes that from 1468 to 1471 he worked on various things in Palermo. The notaries write his name Laurana, Loreano and Loreana. On Nov. 11, 1477, he is mentioned as a witness in Marseilles, with his father in law Gentile the Elder from Naples. On May 7, 1479, a notary gives for him as "talhator ymagium" (sic) a receipt for 600 thalers (\$450) for the work in the Church of Celestins at Avignon. On Sept. 2, 1482, Laurana, "artifex ymagium", gives a power of attorney to his son in law, the painter Jean de la Barre at Avignon.

Receipts of May 4 and 27, 1483, are the last mentions, which we have of this master.

On the Chapel of Lazarus in the old Cathedral at Marseilles (La Major), a white marble structure, the composition, drawing, and every chisel stroke are Italian work. L. Barthelemy has found out the master and the history of this important monument.²⁰⁴

Note 204. See Barthelemy, L. Francois Laurana, Auteur du Monument de Saint-Lazare dans l'ancienne Cathedrale de Marseille. Marseilles. 1885.-- Illustrations of this monument are also to be found in Palustre's *Architecture de la Renaissance*. p. 145. Paris. 1892.

The chapter had already decided in 1475 on rebuilding the shrine or altar of S. Lazarus. On Jan. 4, 1479, Thomas de Como is mentioned as sculptor of the stone work of S. Lazarus. On the frieze of the shrine and on that of the Chapel itself is given the date 1481, doubtless that of the completion. A master named Thomas de Samolvido worked with him as sculptor. A document of May 3, 1483, shows that Loreana had the supervision of the entire work, and that he was responsible for the workmen employed under him; as payment for his work, he received 800 florins.

Two round arches, supported by a column at the centre and by pilasters at the sides, open into two tunnel vaults; with the projecting bands rising from these supports, they support an entablature, above which again two nearly semicircular pediments terminate the composition. The general arrangement and the details prove, that the master knew Florence indeed, but was not a Tuscan. They in some measure exhibit the noble treatment of forms, as one may see by Luciano da Lovrana on the Palace of Urbino and some Lombard artists (like Andrea Bregno); they indicate a master, that had passed through a development similar to that of Luciano, and lend some probability to the assumption, that Francesco Laurana was a brother of Luciano.

Palustre believes himself to have called attention to the alleged earliest monument of the Renaissance in France, that certainly only belongs to sculpture, and he designates it as a work of Laurana. This is the Tomb of Charles d'Anjou, Count of Maine (died 1472) in the Cathedral at Mans, which was built by his son Carl in 1475. It consists of an Italian sarcophagus after antique models in the style of that shown by the Tombs of the Cardinal of Portugal in S. Miniato al Monte near Florence or that of Pietro da Noceto in Lucca; on this sarcophagus lies the deceased in his armor in dignified repose.

Müntz further ascribes to the artist Laurana the so-called Niche of king Renee in the small court of the Chateau at Tarascon, a loggia recessed in the wall between two fluted pilasters supporting an entablature; attached to them are smaller half columns, which bore an oval, or more probably two round arches, either resting on a central column, ending on a suspended pendant, as in Fig. 24. The whole ²⁰⁵ is a purely Italian work of Urbino-Lombard tendency.

Note 205. According to photographs kindly furnished to the author by M. Müntz.

Further to be mentioned is the Tomb of the Seneschal Jean de Cossa in the lower Church of S. Marthe at Tarascon, erected in 1476 at the cost of king Renee, with pilasters with arabesques, a rich entablature, and fruit garlands on the wall behind the statue reclining on the sarcophagus, likewise a work of the same school.

Very interesting, even for Italy, is the architectural background of the altar in the Church of Celestins at Avignon, which was completed in 1481, and is now to be found in the Church S. Didier there; it represents various domed structures of Italian design.²⁰⁶

Note 206. See the corresponding illustration in Courajod, L. *La Sculpture Française avant la Renaissance classique* etc. p. 17. Paris. 1891.

Finally, let the medal of duke Jean of Calabria, son of king Renee, be considered; Laurana has also represented on it a Corinthian circular temple with domical roof.²⁰⁷

Note 207. Representations thereof are found in Heiss, A. *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*. Vol. 2. Francesco Laurana, Pietro da Milano. Paris, after 1881; -- also *Jahrbuch der Kön. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, Jahr. 3, Heft 3, 4.

91. Italian Architecture and the Leaders of French Art; Jean Fouquet.

Before passing to the description of the architectural monuments erected during the period of the Renaissance, the influence should be considered, which Italian architecture exerted upon the contemporary masters of French art, especially on three chiefs thereof; Jean Fouquet, Jehan Perreal, and Michel Colombe.

Jean Fouquet, born in Tours about 1420, died about 1485, and painted in Rome a since famous portrait of Eugenius IV between 1443 and 1447. Vasari calls him Giovanni Focchetta and Foccora; Filarete names him Giachetto Francioso, and by Francesco Florio²⁰⁸ is he mentioned as Johannes Fochetus.

Note 208. In *Archives de l'Art Français*. Vol. 4. (1885). Documents. p. 168.

Fouquet was the first Frenchman, who felt a strong influence from the Italian Renaissance in the domain of decoration.

Even if limited to the sphere of miniatures, ivory carvings, goldsmiths' work and certain furniture, Courajod²⁰⁹ proves a very gentle inflow of Italian elements since the 14th century; under the reigns of Charles VII, Louis XI, Charles VIII and Louis XII, this influence increased. -- Jean, duke de Berry (died 1416), had in his service Italian miniature painters, or those under their influence;²¹⁰ it is not improbable that

he further had painters from Italy.

Note 209. See the Essay mentioned in Note 206. p. 12.

Note 210. The correctness of this view and of the actually existing Italian influence, I might gather from existing examples.

In the miniatures of manuscript 919 in Fonds Francais in Library Nationale at Paris, in that portion earlier than 1416, one finds already in Gothic architecture (folio 31) an oval arch and a round arch. On folio 4 is seen the influence of Italian painting. Folio 96 recalls the Florentine mode of representing the interior of vaulted churches, as if one viewed it from a certain distance outside of the church, the facade and one side of the church being conceived as omitted.

The manuscript of Josephus (Fonds Francais, No. 247, folio 49) shows the representation of a tabernacle as an open dome on round arches and slender columns with a lantern, in the form of the Florentine cathedral between Orcagno and Brunellesco.

For Fouquet, the fact likewise noted by Lübke²¹¹ is of importance, that his Renaissance forms were not derived from the excessively ornamental schools of upper Italy, from which the German masters drew their opinions (and Lübke might have added most French masters of the Renaissance), but from the more severe Florentine school.

Note 211. Lübke, W. Geschichte der Renaissance in Frankreich. 2nd edition. p. 14. Stuttgart. 1886.

Three reasons lend to the work of Fouquet a special importance. First, the architectural back-grounds of his famous miniatures afford in the Italian elements therein adopted the earliest examples of the influence of Italian upon French art. Second, like no other article, they give evidence of the various ways in which the French utilized studies made in Italy. Lastly, one of these miniatures contains the first and earliest actual compositions of a Frenchman, executed in Renaissance forms.

In those miniatures in the Paris copy of Josephus, which are due to Fouquet, capitals in the style of Brunellesco may be seen on page 70; on page 89 is a chest with fluted pilasters and a segmental pediment, also with Gothic crockets; on

page 213 in the midst of a Gothic building is a small columnar structure with an entablature, whose bold cornice above the dentils suggests a model of Michelozzo; on page 230 is a triumphal arch with columns, whose Composite capitals are allied to those in the court of Palace Medici at Florence; on another page are the twisted columns around the altar of the old Church S. Peter at Rome, which we also see represented in later, according to Lübke, and riper "Hours" of master Etienne Chevalier. ²¹²

Note 212. Lübke mentions among the Renaissance motives in the Munich Boccaccio, circular temples with domes, antique portals, Corinthian pilasters, Roman triumphal arches, borders with fluted Corinthian or Composite pilasters. They indeed directly grew out of the manuscript, composed by the writer on Nov. 24, 1458.

This beautiful and mature prayer book has frequently been examined by us in Chantilly. ²¹³ In its miniatures may be seen among other things in the representation of the adoration of the Madonna within a Gothic church portal, a niche with a shell, enclosed by a spirally fluted round, to all appearance taken from the interior of the Tabernacle of Donatello on the Church Or S. Michele at Florence. ²¹⁴ Further back is a wall, decorated by pilasters, entablatures and panels, as well as crowned by angels supporting garlands and shields, evidently inspired by the similar representation in the sacristy of the cathedral at Florence; the capitals entirely exhibit the drawing of Brunellesco. In the Removal from the Cross and the Burial in the Tomb, the appearance of a church with four towers and a dome-like roof is striking, its choir being treated as a domed structure; one is tempted to think of the tribune of the Annunziata at Florence, begun in 1446, and of that of S. Francesco at Rimini, projected in 1445.

Note 213. Of these miniatures, 40 were long in the possession of L. Brentano de Roche at Frankfort-a-M., were until recently the property of Duc d'Aumale, and are now in Museum G. Conde at Chantilly. -- Published in chromolithograph by Delaunay in *Heures de Maître Etienne Chevalier*, par Jehan Fouquet. Paris. 1867.

Note 214. Fouquet has omitted the spiral flutes on the col-

columns and transferred their continuation to the arches.

The very rich and interesting architectural back-grounds of Fouquet in the prayer book just mentioned permit the recognition of a series of facts, that are quite instructive for the intellectual tendency of those French masters, who first came into contact with the Italian Renaissance, and for the Italian studies and the reaction of these upon their manner of composition. We find:--

1. Groups of buildings in which a purely Florentine building occurs directly among northern late Gothic structures.

2. A Gothic building, whereon an Italian Renaissance composition is directly interpolated in the Gothic architecture, for example, the already mentioned niche of Donatello's Tabernacle as the central part of the Cathedral portal.

3. A back-ground exclusively in antique style, for example the miniature representing the marriage of Mary and Joseph. Only a single building, designated as the Temple of Solomon, forms the back-ground; this is formed like the Roman triumphal arch of three openings with rich frieze, keystones, winged victories etc. But the twisted Composite columns appear strange, that support the main entablature. Lübke asks the signification of this form of column, which is first found here, later in Raphael's work, and lastly in Bernini's altar canopy in the Church of S. Peter in Rome. The answer is easy. These are entirely imitations of those white marble columns, that surrounded the altar of the old Church S. Peter.²¹⁵ Since according to tradition, these came from the Temple at Jerusalem, when Fouquet employs them here, he manifests an independent endeavor to compose an antique building with some archaeological accuracy, here exclusively in the antique style.

Note 215. Fouquet has drawn these a second time in the same position, for these columns are likewise represented on the miniature representing the plundering of the Temple at Jerusalem.

4. But two other miniatures are in certain respects the most important of all, since they are supposed to contain the earliest actual "compositions" of a Frenchman in the Renaissance style. In both cases is given the interior of a hall, one in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the other in the

dinner of Simon; the latter shows a tunnel vault with large coffers.

The first hall terminates in an apse and the walls are subdivided by Corinthian pilasters; the other contains elevated rectangular windows, and in the apse are marble panels; at the entrance archway to the apse stand spirally twisted columns instead of pilasters. Above the architrave begins the French composition; a wooden vault, whose section has the form of a depressed ogee arch; above each pilaster is a transverse arch, blue with golden arabesques; lengthwise on the transverse arches, boards of equal widths form the covering, and in the low half dome of the apse is a single large shell.

5. From the fact that some forms indicate the peculiarities of the style of Michelozzo, which we now observe on certain buildings, but which Fouquet cannot have seen, when he painted the portrait of the Pope in 1443, since those structures were not then completed, it follows that Fouquet, like Du Cerceau and others later, did not merely study the antique in Italy, but likewise also the most recently undertaken works of the Italian masters.

6. The circumstance, that in spite of the small scale of the miniatures the character of certain forms by Michelozzo and Brunellesco may still be observed, shows finally how thoroughly the northerners, and with them Fouquet, frequently studied the latest Italian art works. Yet it should not be forgotten, that the "Hours" of Estienne Chevalier was considerably later than the portrait of the Pope and certainly was made after 1458, and that accordingly Fouquet had much time for becoming acquainted with the Tabernacle by Michelozzo, which was already substantially completed in 1458, and other later works of this master.

7. Likewise in one work of larger scale, in the gilded paneling on the back-ground of his portrait of Juvenal des Ursins in the Louvre, may be perceived in the scrollwork as well as on the capitals of the pilasters, which exhibit bears as symbols of the Ursins, a purpose to compose freely in the Italian style. On the entablature may again be seen the influence of the rich treatment of these members, as frequently employed by Michelozzo a little after 1445.

92. Jehan Perreal.

One of the most interesting figures of his time is Jehan P Perreal, also called Jean de Paris.²¹⁶ He was alternately engaged as painter, modeler, architect, engineer, and also as poet, at the courts of kings Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I, as well as at those of the duchess of Savoy, Margaret of Austria, whose painter and valet-de-chambre he was likewise. Perreal's attitude toward Italian architecture is sufficiently evident from Art. 47.

Note 216. See Charvet, E. L. G. *Biographies d'Architectes. Jehan Perreal etc.* Lyons. 1875.-- The author has collected in this book the numerous notices of this artist by others, and enriched them by new ones; in it are contained valuable notes on the artistic nature of that period.-- After 1472, a several Jeans de Paris are found in Paris, whose identity with Perreal is not sufficiently established; this is first the case after 1483. Perreal died in 1529 at latest, perhaps already in 1528.

Courajod calls Perreal the artist, who then had the greatest influence on art in France.²¹⁷ From him came the design of the Tomb of duke Francis II at Nantes, executed by Coulombe and Jieronimo da Fiesole. Charvet holds it not impossible, that in the erection of the Church du Brou near Bourg and of the Tomb therein by Van Boghen and Meyt, that still something of the designs of Perreal and of Coulombe was utilized.²¹⁸

Note 217. See Courajod, L. *La Sculpture Renaissance etc.* p. 16. Paris. 1891.

Note 218. See Charvet. p. 106.

93. Michel Coulombe.

Michel Coulombe or Coulomb,²¹⁹ although primarily a sculptor, must still be mentioned in this place, since sculpture and ornament are those elements, by which the Italian Renaissance permeated French architecture, and since the influence of the new and on such an important master must shed some light on the much less perceptible way in which Italian architecture affected many French architects.

Note 219. Brittany is generally held to be the native country of Colombe. A. de Champeaux gave reasons (*Chronique des Arts*, 1895, April 20), that the master must have come from B Berri.

Courajod designates ²²⁰ the Loire valley as entirely penetrated by Italian elements at that time, when Michel Colombe left the Flemish-Burgundian school of Dijon, and under Italian influence created the sculpture of the French Renaissance. He believes that at that time, when men began to let themselves be swept away by Italian taste, Colombe must have produced such a result just on account of the Italian side of his talent. It is not possible to acknowledge Italian influences in that epoch with more energy and fairness than does Courajod.²²¹

Note 220. See Note 217 in the work mentioned (p. 22); "You state that there was a Franco-Italian school of the 15th century, contrary to the gratuitous statements and in spite of the knowing jests of a certain league of badly informed patriots".

Note 221. Courajod is certainly right, when he says elsewhere, that even Palustre has entirely suppressed the influence, that Michel Colombe received by contact with the Italian Renaissance. (See his *Sculpture Française* etc. p. 8. Paris. 1891).

Anthyme-Saint-Paul ²²² has seen correctly, when he says:-- "In the atelier of Michel Colombe, the new ideas were received with enthusiasm and the Italian artists were not rejected. There arose a true centre of the Renaissance, in which Anne of Brittany found a design and an executing artist for the Mausoleum of her father, duke Francis II, and her mother".

Note 222. In *Planat*. Vol. 6. p. 363.

a. Transition Style from Gothic to Renaissance.

(Style of Charles VIII and Louis XII)

About 1495 to 1515.

94. Survey.

The phase of transition designated by the preceding title, which is to be regarded as the first transition period of the new French architecture, begins with the infiltration of the first Italian details into the late Gothic and lasts until the complete transformation of Gothic details into the style of expression of the former, i.e., till the style of Francis I or until the early Renaissance.²²³

Note 223. We have indeed long hesitated, whether we should not also count the styles of Charles VIII and of Louis XII as

with early Renaissance. But it appears to us to better correspond to the character of the phenomena, as well as to the principles of development of the architectural style, if we prefer the grouping employed here.

In view of the wealth of late Gothic forms and ornamental arrangements on the one hand, and of scarcely less abundant, chiefly Milanese (Bramante's) motives, which were mixed together or combined by simple juxtaposition, it is naturally impossible to describe here all experiments, much less all conceivable combinations. It must therefore suffice to present here and give the essential and typical steps in the course of development, that we believe may be distinguished.

1. Transitional Steps in Composition.

95. First Steps in the Transition.

The occurrence of certain Renaissance elements, still expressed in Gothic details, we term the first steps in transition.

On the exterior of the beautiful, pavilion-like loggia structure of the stairway in the Chateau at Chateaudun, the new style asserts itself almost exclusively in the general composition by the introduction of the oval arch and of the lintel, yet merely accompanied by rich Gothic, not antique details. Only on the upper small side towers occur small Italian windows and Renaissance balusters in the internal balustrade.

This tendency likewise appears in places and in certain parts of Hotel de Cluny at Paris and on the Palace of Justice at Rouen, as well as on the Louis XII wing at the Chateau of Blois.

96. Second Step in the Transition.

In the second transition step appear sporadically the new elements, mostly upper Italian interpretations of antique forms, in the shape of certain details, without any compelling cause or necessity, in the midst of a late Gothic architectural style.

In the middle portion of the facade of the Cathedral at Rouen, begun under Louis XII, which is retained in the richest and most wonderful late Gothic style, a Renaissance flavor shows itself in the arabesques of the four small twisted columns of the base and in the undercut foliage of the cavetto, the latter only noticeable on closer inspection, as also occa-

occasionally in Gaillon.

In the highest degree important for the knowledge of this interesting period were the buildings, which chiefly Charles VIII and Louis XII had erected in the Chateau on the triangular shaped terrace between the Loire and the Amasse. Unfortunately, most of this chateau has disappeared, as well as the gardens of Chateau Gaillard at Amboise, where Passello da Merloliano developed his landscape art. However interesting are the existing remains, yet they are little suited to be mentioned here as characteristic examples. Even the representations in Du Cerceau, a portion of which is given in Fig. 22, do not suffice for this. (Compare Art. 69).

On most remains of Hotel de la Tremouille at Paris,²²⁴ for example, the Renaissance is limited to some keystones in the cross vaults. One of these is ornamented by a garland and a shell, another by two birds besides a vase and two rosettes; there apparently were in the tracery, that in some places forms the decoration of the walls, some medallions placed instead of rosettes. Yet the main doorway with its great cap composed of two dolphins, with its medallions and pilasters, already goes a step farther; it exhibits the composition of a motive in the compromise forms of the new spirit and already belongs to the next step.

Note 224. Now in the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris.

97. Third Step in the Transition.

The third step in the transition is characterized by the isolated and direct occurrence of larger Italo-Antique motives in the midst of a late Gothic composition. The new elements like the antique became somewhat more numerous and were sometimes combined in a motive or an architectural member in the midst of Gothic forms.

As examples of this course of development can be mentioned several facades of Chateau Le Verger; the form of the plan of the latter further makes known already a different influence affecting the general composition.

On this Chateau begun in 1496 (Fig. 17 and Art. 69), Renaissance motives are joined to Gothic and became more numerous, as the building progressed. The front round arched gateway with pilasters and pediment, placed between two circular tow-

towers, exhibits entirely Italian design; likewise the second gateway leading to the court, and which has below a wide and a narrow passage, above it being an equestrian figure in relief, -- all being enclosed by pilasters. Likewise Italian are the rich niches with pilasters and entablatures, that alternate with the windows in a regular arrangement. In the second court, the wing on the right side is already formed as a terrace.

One of the most expressive examples of frankly unmixed juxtaposition is presented by the famous sacred Tomb of the Priory at Solesmes, which was completed in 1496.²²⁵

Note 225. See La Tremblaye, R. P. Solesmes, les sculptures de l'église abbatiale. Solesmes. Pls. 4 - 8.

The entire architecture is the late Gothic; only the lower half is divided on each side by a pilaster, whose panel belongs to the very best and purest Florentine work of this kind in France. It exhibits in the middle of each one a candelabra-like more solid part, composed of vases with lighter arabesque work on both sides. Besides these pilasters, the statues of the two soldiers are genuine Italian works, while most of the other figures are works by northern masters, but who like Colombe, have dropped the excesses of Flemish realism by contact with Italians. The pilasters have neither bases nor capitals; the three horizontal bands of ornament, which separate the lower half, must be a kind of Gothic interpretation of the entablature.

98. Fourth Step in the Transition.

In the fourth step in the transition appears the endeavor for a regular arrangement of the plan and the general composition. For when conditions permitted, it was sought to give to the ground-plan greater regularity, as well as to the elevations on different parts of the building. The individual treatment of these parts was either a predominating or almost exclusively Gothic one, or a more or less marked transformation toward the Italian-Antique tendency with a mixture of properly Italian details.

The wing of Louis XII on the Chateau at Blois, which is usually dated in 1498,²²⁶ repeatedly exhibits a style tendency allied to the Chateau at Gaillon, especially in the depressed

oval arches of the portico in the court and in the ornaments of the columns and compound piers. The Gothic character is more strongly expressed than in Gaillon.

Note 226. Dean d'Autun says, that on Dec. 25, 1502, the king ordered his chateau to be entirely restored. The works were not entirely completed in 1503; yet already in 1502 is mentioned gold for the lead ornaments. (See de Croy. p. 36).

Nevertheless in reference to the architect of this wing, a attention is called to the words of Planat;²²⁷ "Still is it admissible, that he was Jean Joconde, the ordinary architect of this king". Since it is proved, that Fra Giocondo constructed an aqueduct for the garden of the Chateau at Blois (Art. 70), then is a certain influence upon the building of the chateau itself the more probable.²²⁸

Note 227. Planat. Vol. 2. Art. Blois.

Note 228. Among the constructing masters is found Simon G Guichart, who for a long time held the position of master of the works in the county of Blois as a substitute for Cadot, and who was also promoted to this place in 1500 or soon afterwards.

Beside the influence, which this master probably exerted upon the building of the two chateaus mentioned, and besides that clearly due to the two gardeners da Mercoliano (Art. 80), the connection between the chateaus at Blois and at Gaillon is yet strengthened by the following facts.

1504, Nicholas Biard went from Blois to Gaillon to visit the works in the latter place, and he received for this 70 sous, including his traveling expenses.

1505, he went twice to Gaillon and received the first time 18 livres and 5 sous, the second time 17 livres and 6 sous.

1506, he took part in the decoration of the chapel at Gaillon.

Lance might regard Biard as the general inspector, who was entrusted with a certain higher supervision. From him comes a report; "--- has always haunted and frequented several masters, experienced in the said trade of masonry".²²⁹

Note 229. Lance, A. Dictionnaire des Architectes Francois. Vol. 1. p. 71. Paris. 1873.

The inclinations of Louis XII, the "father of his country", were not directed toward the new style. This is evident from

the before mentioned wing of the Chateau at Blois, where he remained insipidly within the Gothic traditions. All the more energetically did his minister, Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, seize the standard of progress and erect in his Chateau at Gaillon the largest and most beautiful monument of the new style, which as Albert Lenoir stated to me, proverbially remained the model of a magnificent residence. It is a little Gaillon was then said, as later; it is a little Versailles.

Albert Lenoir had already recognized long since the nature of the art epoch under consideration far more correctly, than Deville did ten years later in his already often cited works, with all his documents, since as we have also found, -- he designates the Chateau at Gaillon as a building in the transition style, as a strange alliance of two entirely different architectural styles. Thus he means, that one must perhaps conclude from this alliance, that two architects took part in the building of Gaillon; Jean Jocunde, who led in the Italian path, and an unknown French master, who was still imbued with the principles of the native school. The possible participation of Fra Giocondo and the work of other Italians at Gaillon has already been discussed in Art. 70; a word may here be spoken concerning the French masters. According to Deville, among the French masters employed on the building the chief were:-- Pierre Fain, Pierre Belorme, Guillaume Senault, Pierre Valence, and also master Arnault in the latter period. Yet what Lance states in his notices of these masters never permits the supposition of a chief architect, neither from the nature of their work nor by reason of their salaries. Those mentioned appear as masters, who undertook to construct certain parts of the chateau; one even sees that several of them were busied on the same portions of the building, as for example on the chapel, on the gallery etc.! One would think of a participation in the design by Senault and Fain. (Also see Art. 106).

Note 230. See Note 151.

The following words of A. de Montaiglon concerning the Chateau at Gaillon should further be quoted:-- "The main structural work and the architecture are entirely French. But the Cardinal of Rouen had frequently visited Italy, and this had

left on him a sufficiently deep impression of astonishment, to move him to employ Italian artists for the decoration of his wonderful residence, which was purer, rarer and more complete, than of the royal chateaus transformed in accordance with the prevailing taste. While he employed Michel Colombe, and his architects were from Normandy and Touraine, he had his chapel painted by Andrea Solario, the statue of Louis XII sculptured by Lorenzo da Mugiano, and he utilized for two years the chisel of Antonio di Giusto. (Antoine Juste).²³¹

Note 231. See Montaignon, A. de. & G. Milonert. p. 18.

At the Chateau of Gaillon, the decoration internally and externally was the only part belonging to the Renaissance and novel, excepting a number of compromise forms; the late Gothic had no interest in these.

Courajod appears still more energetically for the Italian character, which permeates the decorations of Gaillon so frequently, even if in different ways. He says: "No one can doubt the absolutely Italian character of the decoration of the whole of the Chateau of Gaillon -- excepting the exclusively French style of the roofs, it is the Italian influence, that predominates almost everywhere in the ornamentation. The almost exclusively Italian tendency of the decoration of the chateau strikes the eyes, so to speak, when one compares in the court of the Ecole des Beaux Arts this decoration with the ornamentation of the Hotel de Treomille, that on the contrary remained entirely French."²³²

Note 232. See Courajod, L. LA Part de l'Art Italien dans quelques Monuments de Sculpture de la premiere Renaissance Française. Extract from Gaz. des B. Arts. 1884. p. 4, 6. Paris. 1885.

99. Fifth Step in the Transition.

The fifth step in the transition is characterized by the fact, that the composition of an entire architectural structure already adheres to the Franco-Italian compromise style.

As such a Franco-Italian, or more correctly Italo-French, compromise composition, not merely ornamentation, there may be designated on the Chateau at Gaillon:--

1. The external arched portico adjoining the chapel.
2. The round arched portico, a part of which stands on the

left in the court of the Ecole des Beaux Arts at Paris.

3. The arched entrance in the middle of the court.
4. The facade represented in Figs. 24, 25.
5. The gate pavilion still standing in Gaillon, which was built about 20 years earlier than the porte doree in the royal Chateau at Fontainebleau, but which exhibits a more strongly expressed, richer, and better understood Italian composition of forms, than that.
6. The tower-like roof turret above the chapel.
7. the angle tower in the court beside the latter.
8. The external circular angle tower adjoining the wing of the chapel.

Yet other portions of the building might be mentioned, but those above will suffice. That the gardens belonging to the chateau are a purely Italian work will be proved in the following.

It is to be noted in reference to the before mentioned facade (Fig. 24)., that the portico and the two beautiful galleries were in 1802 taken down stone by stone by Alexandre Lenoir and reerected in the court of the Ecole des Beaux Arts. According to Deville, these facades were located on the south side of the court. ²³³ Accordingly the representation by Silvestre, in which these are conceived as a projecting building on a terrace, can hardly be correct, and may be merely regarded as a portion of the side of a court. Neither at the locality nor from the engravings by Du Cerceau is the author able to accurately deduce the location of this facade.

Note 233. It appears that Deville gives a correct restoration of this facade based on the engraving by J. Silvestre and on the aid of the existing remains, while L. Courajod (in Alexandre Lenoir, his Journal and Le Musee des Monuments Français. Paris. 1878-1879), and E. Müntz (in Guide de l'Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts. Paris. 1889) reproduce an erroneous representation by Lenoir, in which the characteristic motive of the suspended arches is replaced by a pier; the attic or balustrade-like upper ending is likewise omitted.

The arcade of the loggia, now on the left in the court of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, from one of the other court facades at Gaillon is a fusion of Italian-French forms; round arches

above tree-like columns, surrounded by a spirally arranged network, with the ermine emblems of Brittany; the dolphin capitals are from Milanese models, but are set diagonally with the front.

100. Sixth Step in the Transition.

In the sixth step of the transition are found works, which on the basis of the general composition arose in the Italian style. In this period it is much rarer to find on any architectural work an Italian general composition. Especial interest is therefore due to the termination of the north tower on the Cathedral at Tours, -- not merely a Gothic general structure with more or less Renaissance details, but a Renaissance creation in the form of an octagonal Italian domed structure with a lantern. The members and details, though indeed somewhat rude, mostly belong to the Renaissance; yet some of these, like the crockets, certain pinnacles and the cornice around the lantern dome, are taken from Gothic.

We have a work before us here, that is executed somewhat in the spirit of the studies of Leonardo da Vinci for the design of a dome, which he prepared about 1488 for the Cathedral at Milan. This must be due to the nephews of Michel Colombe, B Bastien and Martin Francois, and it was completed in 1507. Both this fact as well as the date are the more remarkable, since the two artists mentioned assisted their uncle on the Tomb of duke Francis II at Nantes; the latter was finished in 1507, and it is known that the entire architecture was the work of two Italians. If then the uncle needed the assistance of his nephews during five years, then might the question be raised, how the latter were in a position to prepare a much more complex composition? Only two solutions are possible; either the composition is that of an Italian, or at least one of the nephews must have studied in Italy for a long time.

In order to not lose sight of the general view of the movement under consideration, the already mentioned purely Italian works of this period are again recalled, as well as reference made to the purely Italian gardens at Amboise, Blois, G Gaillon etc.

2. Details.

101. Principle of Formation of Details.

For the development of details during the so-called styles

of Charles VIII and of Louis XII, the underlying idea is indeed, that the forms of separate members, the motives or the details of Gothic and be replaced by those, which fulfil the same or yet in some measure similar functions. This exchange or substitution shows itself in various ways and in different courses; innumerable shades arise in the mixtures. We find:-

1. Pure Gothic details beside pure Italian.
2. Gothic details modified in the antique direction.
3. Italian details changed to the Gothic tendency.
4. According to circumstances, one finds one or the other of these methods employed, sometimes all at the same time.

102. Details at Gaillon.

According to the latter tendency, and for the mutual penetration of the Italian and the French spirit in art as well as for the contemporary existence of both styles beside each other, the choir stalls at Gaillon, now to be found in the Church at S. Denis, are especially instructive.

Pure late Gothic and also French are the verticals of the upper backs. Half Gothic in conception are the side arms of the front row of seats, which terminate with dolphins from an Italian hand in Italian foliage, and in Gothic clustered pillars, apparently bearing small French figures on their backs; the small figures on the standing seats (*miseri cordias*), that are found on the underside of the seats, when turned down, are probably Italian with northern attitudes. The front seats and the canopy of the backs exhibit the most delicate and purely Italian arabesque panels; in the lower half of the backs are intarsias after the drawings of a Frenchman, who busied himself in composing in Italian, somewhat like Jean Perréal. In the upper half with French conditions somewhat lessened, Milanese architectural forms as relief borders enclose scenes, that one may indeed describe as treated in the Franco-Italian style of Colombe.

On the Chateau at Gaillon, this use of both style tendencies is repeatedly shown by the contemporary accounts. Thus for example in 1509 the spaces, that were to bear the medallions of Paganino, were chiseled "in the antique and in the French manner", Under Napoleon I in the year 10, to Alexandre Lenoir were delivered 42 medallion heads of Roman emperors in

white marble, which came from the court of the Chateau at Gaillon, and which were entirely similar to those so frequently occurring in Renaissance architecture; they were executed by Guido Mazzone, and at least in part, were placed on the facade represented in Fig. 24.

A portion of the vertical arabesques on these arcade piers were doubtless executed by Italians; some of the panels are of even greater delicacy than the best of this kind in Florence, Venice or Milan. Another portion was executed by natives after an upper Italian drawing, whose character harmonizes with the manner of Fra Giocondo.

The arabesques and the scrollwork of the second story on the wall above the medallions and on the pilasters (Figs. 24, 25) are much heavier, just as on the window pilasters. The execution shows how unskilful the French stonecutters were still, when they had to treat Italian ornament and foliage, while just beside these and in the leafy stems wound with thistles, roses and Gothic leaves, they developed very great skill, likewise on the main doorway of the Cathedral at Rouen, that belongs to this school, and is a real wonder of mastery.

For some pieces of ornamentation, it is difficult to determine whether they were originated by Frenchmen, who had previously acquired a much larger knowledge of the new forms, or by Italians, who had acquired in certain things something of the French manner of expression. Thus for example, in the scrollwork in the window parapets, whereon occur crouching satyrs, a mermaid and children, swans with human heads and the legs of deer, centaurs, the three graces, and many other things.

On the gateway to be found in the middle of the court of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, and which according to Deville led to the entrance to the second court of the Chateau at Gaillon, there are on the facade toward Rue Bonaparte, that alone is old,²³⁵ 46 ornaments on merely the middle portion, composed and carved by Italians; 4 pieces recall the Church S. Maria presso S. Satiro and one on the doorway of S. Maria delle Grazie at Milan. Two other ornaments especially exhibit the character of upper Italy, and five others the Venetian. The lower capitals are Italian, but on the contrary the upper

ones are perhaps French interpretations of Italian models.

In the Louvre is a number of fragments from the Chateau at Gaillon, rightly designated as of the Franco-Italian school, among them being some from Italian chisels, even if coming from masters of only the third rank. The Italian enclosures around Colombe's S. George are preferable.

Note 234. Represented in Deville. Pl. 7.

Note 235. Locke has shown (Fig. 28) merely the modern backing of this archway.

Where antique orders occur, one generally finds very flat pilasters in Bramante's style, which do not appear prominent. On the arcades, window openings and bases, the mouldings intersect. The decoration of the window openings is freely cut on the jambs in relief on a sunken ground; the architraves and ribs retain in their sections the angular forms of the 15th century; the windows exhibit mullions, rather labored tracery and stone crosses. For the capitals is generally preferred the Corinthian after Bramante's type, as most nearly allied to the Gothic. The niches with canopies, the pinnacles, the perforated balustrades occur as frequently as ever.

3. Principle of Composition.

103. Ground Principles.

The question may be raised, whether in this alliance of both style tendencies, any one idea, a single rule, or anything like a ground principle was followed in the mixture or juxtaposition as a guide. It appears as if the cases are more numerous in which this question must be answered negatively. The principle of the translation of Gothic forms of details, whose consistent execution at last produced the style of Francis I, was nevertheless manifestly at an already early time the leading idea, that occasionally produced the forms of the transition period.

104. Principle of Horizontality.

In this transformation of forms carefully considered, we clearly meet with at least two leading ideas. The first of these may be termed the principle of horizontality; there may possibly be many horizontal elements included within the yet generally Gothic composition and introduced under Gothic conditions. On few examples is this ground idea so plainly visible, as on the pinnacled superstructure of the portal of the

ducal Chateau at Nancy, ostensibly a work of Mansuy-Gauvain, and which belongs to the style of Louis XII.

105. Role of Gothic and of Italian Details.

The second idea of the transformation in question follows the ground principle of making the supporting parts Gothic and the intermediate parts Italian, so that at least in many places, a tolerably clear arrangement is followed, which was also observed by Anthyme-Saint-Paul or is still supposed. According to his opinion, "the architects retreat in the defence of national traditions but slowly, step by step. Gothic procedures stipulate for the construction, the general arrangement, the proportions, the ribbed vaults, the depressed and pointed arches".²³⁶ Such observation should not alone be conclusive; but such a procedure is also based on the natural and pretty intimate feeling for everything, which concerns the stability of the building or symbolizes this in an esthetic way, to retain the well known Gothic forms. On the contrary, the intermediate surfaces, sometimes perhaps also the supported parts, are decorated with Italian ornament and chiefly with Italian arabesque work. It almost appears as if the consistent development of the roles destined for both style tendencies and a true combination of their elements not infrequently was directly conceived by the architects. As examples of this may serve the clustered piers of the lower portico on the facade of the Chateau at Gaillon, illustrated in Fig. 24.

Note 236. See Planat. Vol. 6. p. 363.

At the five angles of the piers of the arcade, with the angle turned outwards, are small Gothic columns, that are angular and somewhat lower than the impost. The three in front terminate with ogee gables, and their pinnacles extend into the cornice. The archivolts with Gothic mouldings start from these piers. The Renaissance ornamentation extends over all surfaces between the angle columns in the form of vertical arabesques of symmetrical design, rising from vases and with trophies, masks, vases etc.

In a similar way may be seen on the church in Montresor illustrated in Fig. 153, two clustered piers at both sides of the doorway, their surfaces between the rounds being covered

by arabesques,²³⁷ In accordance with the same basal principle is subdivided the ~~the newell pier~~ of the winding stairway in the Chateau at Chateaudun.

Note 237. No example in France is known to me at this moment, where this system is employed on the internal detached piers of a church. But the slender and tall pillars in the Chapel Mor da Egreja dos Jeronimos at Belem in Portugal exhibits exactly the same principle of subdivision, as on the piers at the Chateau at Gaillon. On these piers of the right side aisle in the Church at Gisors, this has been attempted in a certain degree.

This ground principle is again expressed at a larger scale on the facade of the chapel at Les Roches-Tranchelin, now a ruin.

The facade is divided into three spaces by four entirely Gothic buttresses. The entire width of the wall in the two outer spaces is subdivided by flat Italian pilasters in two series, one above the other, and these are connected together by arches and medallions, being conceived as architecture filling a space.

A somewhat similar arrangement of the roles appears on the south tower of the Cathedral at Tours. In Fig. 2, the main piers are subdivided in a more thoroughly Gothic manner, than the intermediate piers.

The principle here considered also forms the basis of various other buildings, which are already to be enumerated more or less with the style of Francis I.

Thus on the facade of the chapel of the Chateau at Usse, the doorway and the window above it are enclosed by a slender arcade and are combined into a common motive. The external parts, even if already translated into the spirit of the style of Francis I, have still more retained the outlines of the Gothic pinnacle treatment, than the lower parts, especially the jambs of this arcade.

The construction of the vaults of the choir in the Church at Tillieres (Fig. 68) permits the same idea to be observed.

Something of the assignment of roles appears to have led to the treatment of the main pier in the stairway of the Chateau at Blois (Fig. 82) more in the style of a buttress, and in t

the clustered piers of Church S. Esstache at Paris, to treat the rounds corresponding to the main arch ribs as columns in the Gothic spirit extending to the transverse arches, while to the lighter and less necessary diagonal arches correspond three antique-like orders, standing out above each other. Figs. 84, 184.

106. Altar Reredos at Gaillon.

In some cases, still different principles were followed in the assignment of the roles of the two style tendencies. Thus on the altar reredos of the chapel of the Chateau at Gaillon, the Renaissance plays the part of enclosure.

The pilasters with entablature covered by charming arabesques are manifestly Italian work,²³⁸ they enclose Colombe's Relief of S. George, and according to Courajod, they are probably the work of Bertrand de Meynal, Jerome Pachetot and Jean Ghersalle (or Ghairselle); the Italian names of these masters are unknown.

Note 238. Long used as a mantle in the Louvre (opposite to the Caryatides of Goujon).

It is otherwise on the Tomb of duke Francis II at Nantes, that was executed in accordance with Perreal's drawing, and all of whose principal figures were by Colombe, while everything architectural composing the tomb is ascribed to two Italians.

107. Duration of the Style of Louis XII.

It has been frequently said with justice, if one considers the details of the members, that the middle ages end with the style of Louis XII; even in the succeeding phase of development the general idea still remains Gothic. Concerning the duration of the latter, Anthyme-Saint-Paul²³⁹ says:-- "The so-called style of Louis XII continues four or five years beyond the death of the king, and the Chateau at Gaillon is the most complete and most characteristic example thereof". In regard to its extension, the same author asserts:-- "In provinces like Beauvais, Valois, Vermandois, that around Amiens, and so much the more in Artois, Flanders and the Free County, the last three provinces then being foreign, -- the transitional period of Louis XII produced as good as no effect".

Note 239. In *Planet*. Vol. 6. p. 314.

4. Masters and Monuments.

4. Masters and Monuments.

108. Masters of the Transition Style.

For a complete understanding of the transition period in question, there may be added some notes on several of the masters, whose names may be regarded as those of the well known architects of that period.

In this still essentially Gothic period, the notes on Martin Chambiges are especially valuable.²⁴⁰

Note 240. See Berty. D. Les grands Architectes Français etc. p. 138, 140. Paris. 1860.

Martin Chambiges presents an example of a case, where one may be certain that the appellation of "master mason" denotes an actual architect. It may be assumed that he was also a Gothic master. We find him:--

1489, as a master mason living at Paris, goes to Sens and builds the transverse aisle and the two portals of the Cathedral there.

1495, he returned to Paris.

1497 and 1499, in Sens as "master of the undertaking and leader of the transepts", then directs further the building from Paris, probably more as "consulting architect".

1500, Apr. 8 and 26, at the deliberations on the rebuilding of Bridge Notre Dame at Paris.

1506, he had charge of the building of the famous choir at Beauvais.

1506, on the way to Sens to inspect his works, is then consulted in Troyes, and returns to Beauvais.

1512, he is called from Beauvais by Jean de Soissons, the master of the Cathedral at Troyes, to a consultation at the latter city, received with honor and rewarded; after he has labored there for two weeks, he returns to Beauvais. From this circumstance, Berty holds that he was one of the most important masters in his time.

1532, he is still "master mason" of Beauvais.

We now pass to the masters of the building of the Chateau at Gaillon (Arts. 70, 98).

1. Pierre Faim.

1507, Dec. 4, contract for the building of the chapel and the main staircase to it.

1508, erection of the kitchen, two half windows and one dormer window of the main building, also of the portal forming the passage to the forecourt. According to Lance,²⁴¹ this is the portal now placed in the court of the Ecole des Beaux Arts. The construction lasted from the end of 1508 until Sept. 1509.

Note 241. *Lanec.* Vol. 1. p. 258.

2. Guillaume Senault, according to Deville, prepared the plans for the main building and superintended the construction.

1502, he works on the tower of the great house.

1503, Jan. 21, he brings the plans to Rouen.

1506, he with other masters is consulted with reference to each of the towers of the cathedrals at Rouen and Bourges.

1507, Dec. 14, together with Pierre Faim and Jean Fouques, he makes the contract for the building of the kitchen. For supervision of the works, he receives daily 7 sous and 6 d. Since he further received in 1508 37 sous 3 d for a journey, for a stay of 8 days in Rouen (with his horse), and for a visit to a stone quarry, this is a remuneration, that can hardly be thought to be made to a higher architect.²⁴²

Note 242. *Lance.* Vol. 2. p. 268.

3. Pierre Delorme had charge of the erection of the marble piers and of the balustrades in the great gallery and in the court of the garden. 1506-1508, he executed one of the four sides of the middle court, which was therefore long called "House Pierre Delorme". He improved the old main residence of Cardinal d'Estouteville, and he built the rectangular pavilion "New Portal" leading to the great court. He further executed the sloping banks of the ditches and the house for ball-playing, worked on the balustrade(?), on the basin of the aviary, and on the windows of the garden pavilion.²⁴³

Note 243. *Lance.* Vol. 1. p. 211.

4. On April 20, 1509, Martin Arrault and Neauldet negotiated for the cutting and polishing of 60 toises (fathoms) of the pavement in the great court of the chateau.

5. Jean Gaudras worked in 1507 on the building of the great gallery, on the doors of the pavilion, and on the cabinets in the gardens.²⁴⁴

Note 244. *Lance.* Vol. 1. p. 302.

6. Jean Fouquet was further known in 1503 and 1508, and he was also sent to Rouen for the work of the Cardinal.²⁴⁵

Note 245. *Lance*. Vol. 1. p. 271.

7. Pierre de Valence from Tours was employed frequently in Gaillon between 1503 and 1508, chiefly on aqueducts, and he also worked as sculptor on the panels of the great garden gallery and of the chapel.

Of other competent masters, the following may also be mentioned.

1. Bastien Francois worked in 1502-1507 with Guillaume Regnault, another nephew of Colombe, and with an uncle on the Tomb of Francis II of Brittany at Nantes. With his brother, Martin Francois, he must have built the domically shaped termination of the north tower of the Cathedral at Tours, and have completed it in 1507, "with a slightly rude appearance, although much in advance of the style", as Palustre says. Likewise to the two brothers must be due the so-called Mount-ain of Beaune at Tours (1510-1511). Finally, to Bastien is ascribed the Cloister of S. Martin (1508-1519), whose eastern side still remains. According to Palustre, Bastien must have been both architect and sculptor.²⁴⁶

Note 246. Palustre, L. *L'Architecture de la Renaissance*. p. 243, 247, 260, 272, 284. Paris. 1892.

If the two works last named are actually designs by Bastien Francois, he must then be regarded as one of the foremost French architects, which resulted from the multitude of Italo-French cooperation, and it would be of interest to follow his artistic development in order to know, whether he merely learned from the Italians on the Loire the degree of predominance of Italian forms to be seen, or whether he had himself dwelt for a considerable period in Italy. The unusual and peculiar character of the decoration on the archivolts, friezes, and arch spandrels of the cloister of S. Martin makes it difficult to decide from photographs, whether the most characteristic and most interesting ornaments are really Italian or French work. The antique and tolerably primitive medallion profiles between architrave and frieze are certainly French. (See Art. 98).

2. Jacques Beroux (died 1516) laid in 1507 before the c

chapter of the Cathedral at Rouen a design for the facade between the towers, worked out on paper; but on account of his great age, he soon withdrew. On his suggestion, his nephew Roulland Leroux was appointed his successor. On April 24, 1510, the latter presented a new design, and detailed drawings were required from him.

3. In Rouen in 1514, Roger Nollet is designater as "architector."

4. In Lorraine is to be found Jacquart de Vaucouleurs or Jacquot Wauthier. In 1508, he is master workman of the works of the marquise of Pont-a-Mousson and master of the works of the duchy of Lorraine. In 1510, Jacquot is ennobled by duke Anton, and in 1511, he is appointed "porter" (concierge) of the ducal Palace at Nancy on account of the "trouble he has always taken to know the building and the work of our house". In 1511 and 1512, the portal of the main building of the house on the great street "was completed" under him; he further worked on a winding stairway, and in 1519, "on the completion of the galleries of madame, for the gardens of my lord", and on a fountain.

5. According to Palustre, Mansuy-Gauvain, a famous architect and sculptor, works in 1501-1512 on the ducal Palace at Nancy.

6. Hugues Cavelier builds in 1516 the Library of the chapter, as master of works of the Cathedral at Sens.

7. About 1507, Jacques Corbel was architect on the Bridge Notre Dame at Paris.

8. According to Palustre, Charles Viart works on the Hotel de Ville at Orleans and at Beaugency, Guillaume Besnard in 1507-1518, on Hotel Beaune-Semblancay at Tours; Chahureau and Andre Amy in 1508-1515, on the chapel of the Chateau at Thouars, and Jean de Beauce in 1511-1519 on the Cathedral at Chartres.

109. Monuments.

Besides the architectural works already mentioned, which belong to the transition style, the following may be mentioned here:--

Fig. 24; dormer window on the Chateau at Gaillon.

Fig. 26; former facade of the court on Chambre of Accounts at Paris.

Fig. 69; the so-called staircase of queen Berthe at Chartres.

Fig. 141; dowercot at Boos.

Fig. 143; Palace of Archbishop at Sens, wing of Louis XII.

Fig. 150; facade of the chapel at Tilloloy.

Fig. 291; interior of the former gilded chamber in the Palace of Justice at Paris. Further:--

Hotel d'Alluye at Blois.

Maison des Gendarmes or Manor of Nollent at Caen.

Portions of the Chateaus at Chemaze and at La Rochefoucault.
(On the exterior).

Older parts of Hotel Bourgtheroulde and of Palace de Justice at Rouen.

Vaults of Chapel of Saint-esprit at Rue.

Facade of Chapel of Chateau at Usse.

b. True Early Renaissance.

(Style Francis I).

About 1515 to 1535 or 1540.

110. General Character of the Period.

The twenty years of apprenticeship of Franco-Italian working together, the first transition phase formed thereby is over. Now arises at the same time the true French early Renaissance; the era of Francis begins. In architecture this epoch appears as almost an era of unlimited hopes, of boundless dreams.

At the first glance, the architectural phenomena of just this time might appear to contain something mysterious. One unwittingly asks himself, was the architectural activity of Francis I a kind of frivolous levity, or is there in it something so foreign, that it seems entirely inexplicable to the ordinary mode of thinking? Only when one realizes the characteristic chief tendencies of the historical side of this epoch in France and its connection with Italian conditions, do many architectural works pass into a clear light, as for example the Chateau at Chambord. It will therefore not be superfluous to briefly sketch here these historical surroundings.

The French may justly term their great 16th century the century of Francis I. Men still heard then of worlds newly discovered beyond the sea; but everything in old Europe also seemed to grow young again. Culture and the arts celebrated the alliance of two intellectual worlds: the mediaeval with

the neo-antique, the Gallo-German with the Greco-Latin. On the contrary in religion, there already began a strong and mysterious separation between the German and the Latin spheres of feeling.

Likewise for the architecture of France, and even of all Europe, the age of Francis I presents a picture, such as few others afford. The architecture of France at that time is the result of the most intimate alliance, which had already been formed between the two ripest and noblest styles of Christendom, the French Gothic and the Italian Renaissance. Even if the Gothic was also the national style of all Germans, yet this style ripened earliest in France. Its purest forms always appeared there; therefore the alliance of the Gothic with the life-enjoying and new-born Italo-Antique style must there be seen to be most instructive. From this alliance not only came a great number of works; that are always anew surprising by their magnitude, imagination, refinement and variety; but in the last ten years of his reign, Francis I lived through a second transformation in architecture, the high Renaissance. The ripest period of French architecture put forth its noblest flower before the death of the king and at his command; the court of the Louvre at Paris was begun by Pierre Escot and Jean Goujon!

A new sun suddenly shone upon the strongly aspiring spirit, the imagination of the Gothic masters, always rising to lofty crests. In the fields of Italy, the antique had again arisen in the blooming freshness of youth, being in the arts the incomparable symbol of the clear shining of simple and eternal truths. The alliance of these two highest sources of art, of longing and of manifestations, like a union of youth and wisdom, ensnared all hearts; there came a period of unlimited, even of infinite hope.

The imagination of the Gothic masters was not then exhausted, as men so readily believe; it was the style itself, the Gothic, that in their hands refused, indeed could no longer give to them any new motives. The spirit of the masters was indeed as fresh and their ability as powerful, as in the age of the early Gothic. Therefore as Italy had supplied them with new materials, they were filled with new fire. The Chat-

Chateaux at Chambord and Rabelais' "Theleme", the Church S. Eustache at Paris, the facades of the Churches at Tonnerre and of S. Michael at Dijon, even the entire style of Francis I show this. Certainly such a prince as Francis I belongs with it likewise.

111. Francis I and his Love of Architecture.

He was one of the rare monarchs, who patronized art, not merely to lend splendor to his throne, but also because he loved it with his entire heart. Not merely a new king appeared to ascend the throne in Francis I, but one of youthful heroic valor and warlike fame; the arts themselves appeared and a time of unlimited visions. Everyone of the great masters passed by Italy and France; Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Michelangelo, this king desired to honor and to win for his court and country, when possible. Not in vain were the kings of France then also sometimes Italian princes. And what princes! Rulers over proud Milan, to whom Bramante lent the sceptre of architecture, before he transferred it to Rome. Had Julius and Bramante begun there recently a new Cathedral of S. Peter, which should surpass everything previously built until then, king Francis would certainly have not remained unaffected by such an act.

The youthful knight, who at the age of 21 years celebrated his accession to the throne by the victory of Marignano, and soon afterwards cast a look at the imperial crown, must indeed dream of the erection of the most beautiful palaces. As the entire world then seemed to renew itself, the same must have appeared to him with his chateaus. Marignano gave him the best stonecutters, who were trained in Milan by Bramante, together with a man, Leonardo da Vinci, in whom was combined everything, that art, science and abilities could permit to be dreamed of. Then arose a period, which we can scarcely represent to ourselves. What might not a young king like him, hope from it!

How could one otherwise understand, that a single man, -- even though a king, -- had the spirit for love of hunting, to erect on swampy meadows and in the midst of great forests a veritable dream, an airy chateau, a Chambord! No chateau, but a colossal caprice is it, a fabulous structure, from whose lofty roof terraces the ladies of his court could convenient-

conveniently overlook the return from the hunt! Absurd, often actually ugly, yet full of magical charm; almost unpardonable architecturally, had not each capital, each scroll, even each chimney cap, told of the visions of a new world, whose revival shone before the eyes of all!

In an age, when king Francis I created a vision of the imagination, such as the Chateau at Chambord; in which Henry VIII built in England his no less inconceivable Palace Nonesuch;²⁴⁷ in which Du Gerceau composed numerous ideal chateaus, some grouped like islands, others built in pyramidal form, with terraces above terraces; in which the king laid the foundation of a new high school in the College of France at Paris, -- who knows indeed really, whether Rabelais may not half in earnest believed in the building of his "indivisible" Abbey of Theleme, where intellectual culture should find every gratification, in the delusion that it could alone renovate the world!

Note 247. An illustration of this, after an attempt at restoration by H. W. Brewer, is to be found in the Builder. Vol. 66. (1894).

The generosity and enthusiasm of the Valois, the services rendered to architecture by some of them, as we see in Charles V and his brother Jean de Berry, further in the nephew of both, Louis d'Orleans, and in Charles d'Orleans, son of Louis and father of Louis XII, the splendor and the love of art of the Valois, of the duke of Burgundy, -- all this, says Anthyme-Saint-Paul,²⁴⁸ the king combined at the same time in himself. An amateur in the true sense of the word and an Italian lord, Francis I understood how to busy at least ten good architects contemporaneously and uninterruptedly. He undertook the erection of five royal residences of the first rank; the Louvre, the Chateaus at Fontainebleau, S. Germain, Villers-Cotterets and Chambord; he left the four works last named in a very advanced condition. He built in Blois a masterpiece the principal wing of the chateau, that bears his name. Of chateaus of the second rank, he counted those at Madrid near Paris, Challuan, Folembray, and La Muette in the forest of S. Germain, -- a series of types, which can scarcely be conceived more diverse.

Note 248. In Planat. Vol. 6. p. 374.

Under Francis I originated in Paris the hotel de Ville and Church S. Eustache. The latter is certainly not by date but by nature the earliest northern example of these typical monumental works, that without reference to their date of origin form the stylistic transition from the Gothic Cathedral to the Church of S. Peter of Bramante; together with the Cathedral at Granada built in the 16 th century, it is the most beautiful church of the Renaissance outside Italy. King Francis was likewise the founder of the school of Fontainebleau, now in part justly decreed. Its influence was long predominant in all provinces of internal decoration for a long period. In it is to be seen no organic further development of the first Franco-Italian school of the Loire, but a second Italian current, that poured itself into the art already become Franco-Italian, strongly influencing this anew.

By such scarcely credible activity, Francis built the temple, or more properly the palace of royal Franco-Italian art, on the Italian foundation set by Charles VIII, and to this France today owes its peculiar position in the arts.

112. Germ of Decay.

The fate of art in the 16 th century would remain unintelligible, were it not that two of these elements had not already been considered here, that restricted its development and suppressed its most beautiful blossoms. The school of Fontainebleau first shows us, that it was unfortunately concerned with a period, in which only too many ignoble germs were contained, that like poison should corrupt souls and with them art also; immorality and limitless yielding to caprice. It was also unfortunately the era, in which on May 17, 1542, the greatest artist of France, Jean Goujon, on account of Lutheran sympathies, was compelled to travel in a penitent's shirt with Geoffrey le Blanc to Place Maubert, to be present when the latter was burned, and closing his life 20 years later in Bologna, an exile from his country for his faith. Herein appeared already the precursors of the soon succeeding frightful religious wars. These and the ever increasing depravity of manners were only too soon to put an end here, as in Italy, to the golden period of art, to the immeasurable hopes for other ages.

1. Principle of Treatment of Forms and its Tendencies.

113. Ground Principles of this Phase of the Style.

The tendency described in Arts. 92 and 94, to replace all Gothic details more and more by Italo-Antique ones after Milanese models, must lead to the moment, when all parts of the building were clothed and translated in a consistent way into the details of the new architectural style, yet still retaining the former ideas, mode of composition, and the general arrangement of its members. This logical assignment of the roles of the two sources forms a definite esthetic principle, as a result of which one may speak of a peculiar and fixed architectural style. Although the ground principles of the mixture were not in themselves new, yet from the character of the combining sources originated works full of originality, which in their general appearance corresponded to no variety of the Italian Renaissance, although all separate elements were taken therefrom. We have to do with a period, which permitted every conceivable development for motives of details, without allowing this any effective influence on the general composition.

114. Different Tendencies.

Within or beside this principle was there space for the richest play of imagination. Innumerable variations apparently arose; yet two definite tendencies may be recognized.

1. Contemporary detailing with forms from the different steps of the development of the Renaissance. -- In the same way as during the preceding period, for example on the former building for the Bureau des Finances at Rouen (Fig. 2), there exist beside each other forms of two different epochs, one of purely Italian origin in a French translation, the other being purely Gothic, so to speak; there are likewise found in the phase in question mixtures by placing forms beside each other, that are taken from different steps of the development of the Franco-Italian Renaissance.

Thus for example, the entrance gateway of the Chateau at Nantouillet,²⁴⁹ shows exclusively on the lower story general and detail forms, which belong to the northern Italian Renaissance of between 1480 and 1510, while the upper part of the composition exhibits Gothic ideas in Milanese forms of details,

indeed of a character termed the style of Francis I. Likewise to a certain degree in the House facade of Du Cerceau, drawn in 1534 (Fig. 289), are found columns and a doorway, whose forms are more progressive, than are those of the window.

Note 249. Reproduction from Sauvageot. Vol. 3.

According to the principle, the Renaissance portions of the Churches at Magny (Fig. 151) and at S. Calais (Fig. 152) must be counted in the transition style, indeed with the type of the age of Louis XII; yet in date are they essentially later, and their new forms already belong in great part to the high Renaissance. In the choir of the Church at Tillieres, built 1543-1546 (Figs. 86, 359), the ribbed construction is not combined with the usual details of the time of Francis I, and it therefore does not have a Milanese-Bramantesque character, but is combined with the bizarre decorative system of the cartouches at Fontainebleau.

2. Uniform Development. -- The portal of the southern transept of the Church S. Eustache at Paris (Fig. 29)²⁵⁰, by its magnitude comparable to a cathedral, affords one of the most expressive examples of the complete translation of an entirely Gothic composition into the Italian-Antique details of north Italy. Even the tracery, which is frequently retained in Gothic design in early Renaissance buildings on account of the difficulty in finding a satisfactory translation into the new forms (Figs. 151, 152), is here translated, and the canopies in the archivolts are reproduced as charming shrines. To satisfy the late Gothic need of almost unlimited richness in details, -- as for example, may be seen on the middle portal of the Cathedral at Rouen, -- and to guard against the endeavor for simplification, innate in the antique, in the epoch of Francis I for mere love of richness, men came to a concentration of motives on the same place, as shown by Fig. 29. Here rises not only the severe acute gable before a niche, that appears to be fastened to a pilaster, but a rich shrine or lantern canopy intersects from this gable the Corinthian capital of the pilaster.

Note 250. Reproduced from Lenoir, A. Statistique Monumentale de Paris. Paris. 1861-1875. (Coll. des Docum. ined. sur l'Hist. de France. Paris. Pub. since 1836).

In the same sense are frequently found pilasters, from whose shafts project half candelabra columns; their capitals unite with the broader pilaster capitals as well as they may.

A refining of details and an arrangement of the members to correspond to their functions is to be seen in the clustered piers in the interior of the Church S. Eustache after 1530 (Fig. 84) and in the arrangement of the capital of a pier at the intersection there. ²⁵⁰

As further clear examples of this tendency of the early Renaissance, reference is made to the Church S. Eustache at Paris, represented in Figs. 29, 30, 180, 182, 184, to the facade designed for the same by Du Cerceau (Fig. 156), to the stairways in the Chateaus of Blois and Chambord (Figs. 81, 82), to the Church at Montresor (Fig. 153), and to the different forms of piers in Figs. 176-179.

2. Composition and Subdivision of the Elevation.

115. Composition of Facades.

In the early French Renaissance may be observed in the treatment of the facades two tendencies opposed to each other. One strives to apply different systems of Italian facades to French conditions, and to translate them into French. The other proceeds from the French systems of facades and is translated into Italian forms of details, or it encloses Italian motives within Gothic borders.

a. Facade Compositions on the Basis of Gothic Principles.

The endeavor of the Gothic to emphasize vertical elements in all compositions, and to create such, is expressed in various tendencies.

1. First in the formation of vertical unities by connecting windows lying over each other into a single vertical band. The entire building can thus be subdivided into a number of continuous vertical membered supports, like a clustered pier or buttress, between which are inserted parts to fill the spaces. Thus for example, the famous winding stairway of the Chateau at Chambord (Fig. 81), the staircase tower of the same Chateau given in Fig. 83, the stairway of Francis I in the Chateau at Blois (Fig. 82), the court of the Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye (Figs. 85, 142), the two courts at Lyons (Figs. 86, 87), the tower at Bressuire (Fig. 312), and the dome-

like tower in the back-ground of Fig. 39.

In other cases, by breaking the entablature around them, orders standing above orders were developed into continuous vertical elements. To these belong the design by Du Cerceau for the facade of a House in Fig. 289, the House at Dijon in Fig. 290, the gateway pavilions of the Chateau at Ecouen, in the Louvre and on the Chateau at Anet (Figs. 315-317), the court of the Chateau at Bussy-Rabutin (Fig. 333) etc.

In still other cases are the buttresses of churches subdivided into one or more orders of pilasters, half or entire columns, standing above each other, as for example on the choir of the Chapel S. Saturnin at Fontainebleau (Fig. 220), on the Church at Magny (Fig. 151), on Du Cerceau's facade for Church S. Eustache at Paris (Fig. 156), on Church Madeleine at Montargis, ascribed to him, on Church S. Pierre at Tonnerre, etc.

The clustered piers in the interiors of churches were now composed of antique orders, very different combinations occurring; as for example, a pier in Church S. Eustache at Paris, (Figs. 84, 180, 182, 184), the piers of the Churches at Gousainville (Fig. 176), at Epiais (Fig. 177), at Ennery (Fig. 178), S. Clotilde at Andelys (Fig. 181) etc. A peculiar clustered pier is to be seen outside the side portal of the Church at Falaise (Fig. 179), and the clustered piers of Chapel des Eveques at Toul (Figs. 185, 186) already almost belong to the high Renaissance.

2. Entire portions of the facade were further composed on the basis of Gothic ground principles, as on the Chateaus at Fontaine-Henri, Chenaze, La Rochefoucault and Azay-le-Rideau, as well as on many half timbered houses, as at Caen, Lisieux, Rouen etc., further on the ducal Palace at Nevers (south facade) and on Palace of Justice at Grenoble, lastly on the Churches S. Eustache at Paris, S. Michel at Dijon, Notre Dame at Tonnerre, on the choir chapels of Church S. Pierre at Caen, on the tower over the intersections of Churches S. Jean at Caen and S. Pierre at Coutances, on the older Towers at Gisors and at Cergy.

b. Facade Compositions on the Basis of half Gothic and half Italian principles, -- whereto first of all belongs the old Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye. As separate architectural

forms no longer occur here Gothic doors or windows translated into antique details, but men began to design these architectural parts in Italo-Antique style; reference is made for this tendency to the gabled window shown in Fig. 142 and the doorway in the court of the before mentioned Chateau.

Another step in advance is made by the composition of the facade of the former Chateau Madrid near Paris (Figs. 31, 221).
251. Loggias, doorways and windows are all designed after Italian and not after Gothic models; yet their proportions are frequently uncertain, and the connection of the rich stories with the plain, tower-like projections is still not harmonious. The studies of Du Cerceau in Fig. 222 seem to have been made under the impression of this defect, that was remedied in Lescot's court of the Louvre.

Note 251. Reproduced from an engraving by J. Marotte. Paris. 1667. (*Calcographie des Louvre*).

c. Facade Compositions on the Basis of Italian Systems.

1. The facades were designed after Italian models, with pilasters or arcades, but in reduced proportions on account of the lesser height of the stories and with windows of the same height as the orders. Here are to be classified; of the former (begun about 1515) Chateau at Bury, the three principal facades of the court (Fig. 237), the court side of the wing of Francis I in the Chateau at Blois (1515-1519), the Hotel-de-Ville at Beaugency (Fig. 291), the so-called House of Agnes Sorel at Orleans (Fig. 335), the court of Palace Granvelle at Besancon (Fig. 334), these not even French), the former House in Rue S. Paul at Paris, (Fig. 294), (to decide from illustrations) the later Hotel de Luynes at Paris (Fig. 299), Chateau Usson at Echebrune (Fig. 91), the court of the Chateau at La Rochefoucault, and in more mature forms, the court of Hotel d'Ecoville at Caen.

On the basis of the same forms proceeds the architect of C Chateau Le Rocher-Mezangers, though somewhat more freely; he introduces changes into the axial development in order to bring the dormer windows into direct connection with the facade. (Fig. 101).

2. The subdivision of the facade is not rarely based on arcade motives; still its development is a very different one.

Thus are found arcades with pilasters or half columns, as for example at the Chateau at Blois, on the loggias of the external side of the wing of Francis I, and on the two galleries on the tower over the intersection of the Church S. Pierre at Montances (Fig. 258). An intermediate type appears on the two galleries of the Chateau at Dampierre-sur-Boutonne, where may be seen in each story short, stumpy columns, on which rest upon consoles at one-third their height, the arcade arches of the wall behind them, that extends between the columns. (Fig. 90). Somewhat similar is the treatment of the arcades of the House des Consuls at Riom. Men have further placed porticos with oval arches above columns, as for example in the court of the Hotel d'Alluye at Blois, where two galleries are arranged above each other and the columns are short and stumpy. In the loggias of the former Chateau Madrid near Paris, the arches rest on impost caps; but were borne by piers standing on both sides of the half columns, these being connected with the archivolts in an unsatisfactory way. Similar, but still more unsatisfactory and more awkward is the location of the pilasters on the external window piers of the gallery of Henry II of the Chateau at Fontainebleau, especially just at the intermediate points, where no load is to be supported. A further step in development is shown by the coupled pilasters beneath the impost cap of the round arch at the main entrance to the court in the Chateau at Vallery.

Somewhat more tasteful is the combination of columns and pilasters with arches on the so-called peristyle of the oval court in the Chateau at Fontainebleau. The same master was much happier in the subdivision of the choir piers in the Chapel of S. Saturnin there; a study of the beautifully profiled graduations of Bramante on the sacristy of the Cathedral at Pavia was manifestly very helpful to him. Well understood and probably under the influence of Boccador, exerted by the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, are the half columns and arcades in the former court of the Chateau at Chantilly.

116. Works on the Basis of Italian General Forms.

Compositions are to be found, whose general ideas are based on Italo-Antique models; we have already seen one such on the top of the tower of the Cathedral at Tours. Similar are the

domical structures, that form the towers at Argentan (Fig. 211) and those at Bressuire (Fig. 312). On Church S. Patrice at Bayeux (Fig. 313), the entire tower is an Italo-Antique composition, as well as the domical structure between the two towers of the Cathedral at Angers.

117. Endeavor for better Proportions.

But there also appears the endeavor to introduce into Italian motives beautiful Italian proportions likewise. Thus for example in Orleans, where the House in Rue du Tabourg is built in nearly the forms of Palace Vendramin-Calergi at Venice, and the House in Rue neuve (Fig. 295, now a Museum) exhibits very good fluted Corinthian half columns. Approximately in the style of the court of the Cancellaria of Bramante, and indeed so in composition as in details, are designed in Orleans the lower loggias of the so-called House of Agnes Sorel (Fig. 335) and the two loggias of the so-called House of Francis I (Fig. 292); certain forms on the latter recall those of Bramante's Church S. Maria di Campanuova at Pavia.

Entirely Italian, both in composition as well as in proportions, are first in the Chateau at Bury the arcades of the front side of the court (Fig. 27), recalling the Milanese-Venetian style of about 1480-1500; further in the staircase at Azay-le-Rideau the double arcade in the third story; further in its chief parts the portion of Hotel of Etienne Duval at Caen shown in Fig. 296, and the court of the Chateau at Mesnieres etc.

On the already mentioned House in Rue neuve at Orleans (Fig. 295, now a Museum), there likewise appears the endeavor to treat the half columns and the orders of columns of the facades in a manner corresponding to noble antique proportions.

118. Moment of most charming Bloom; Ideal Architecture.

In the further course of the development of the style came a moment, in which in the compositions based on Gothic ideas expressed in Italian forms attained to the noblest harmony of proportions. We shall return to this in the phase of the transition to the high Renaissance.

The last tendency of the architectural style in question, which will here be merely mentioned, might be designated as ideal architecture. Reference will be made to this later,

and it will here be only stated, that the Chateau at Chambord is the most speaking expression of this phase of development.

3. Royal Chateaus on the Loire, their Homogeneity, and their Builders.

119. Chateaus on the Loire.

During the both magnificent and charming period of the proper early Renaissance, the royal chateaus in the region of the Loire form the most important results of the secular architecture of the time. The small number of documents on the history of their origin remaining to us, the contradictory views, that here come to light concerning the latter, the both attractive and also astonishing appearance of so vast a building, perhaps standing there alone, like the Chateau at Chambord, make it a duty to cast as much light upon it as possible, and at least to contribute to the solution of this problem to the extent of one's powers. The connection in style existing between several of these chateaus indeed justifies us, if we describe them together in a certain way, and devote attention rather more to the most important among them, that at Chambord, than the proportions of this volume would otherwise permit.

120. Chateau at Amboise.

The Chateau at Blois, as well as the Chateaus at Chambord, Bury, Chenonceau and Azay-le-Rideau, originated in artistic as well as stylistic respects also, from conditions developed at the building of the Chateau at Amboise during the transition period of Charles VIII and Louis XII. Therefore for the better understanding of the period of Francis I, it is reserved for this place to give a few statements concerning the latter Chateau, although it even belongs to the preceding period. It should also be assumed, that the way in which the Italians of Charles VIII worked out the comprehensive designs on the buildings at Amboise, and that they wrought together on the execution in common, a certain fixed form was retained, and the procedures there were determinative for many later buildings, and served as a model for them.

Concerning the time at which the buildings of the Chateau at Amboise were designed and executed, the following statements are presented.

Under Louis XI, the transformation of the chateau had already been commenced. Charles VIII was born there in 1470. Works of unusual extent were executed by the latter in 1488-1498; the chateau was in great part restored and enlarged as a terrace, especially toward the south. In the year 1494, the chapel and several important buildings were completed.

Already in the years 1493-1496 are buildings mentioned, whose internal arrangement was then completed.

To the buildings undertaken after 1496 belong those lying along the Loire, the portions now forming the chief parts of the chateau. The memoirs of Philip de Gomynnes, which are dated from the last years of Charles VIII, mention the splendid buildings, that the king had commenced shortly before his death, among them being the towers, in which one might ride up. It is further stated, that he there employed "the workmen excelling in various works, which he had brought with him from Naples". According to the royal order issued in 1496 for providing funds "for the buildings, improvement and the fortification of the chateau, and of the Place Amboise", important works must be referred to.

The oven of M. Luc Beojane, as he is called in the work mentioned below,²⁵² which was to serve for artificial hatching of eggs, was built between the north tower and the Loire, and the undertaking "succeeded marvellously".

Note 252. Croy, J. de. p. 19.

The death of Charles VIII (1489) did not interrupt the works. Louis XII confirmed in his office the Commissary Raymond de Dezest, who was charged to have the edifices and buildings of the chateau executed. On Dec. 17, 1500, F. de Pontbriant and R. de Plorec received the command "to lead and take charge of the erection of several splendid buildings", which the king desired to erect in his Chateau of Amboise.

From 1499, the quadrennial accounts show that the works were in full course.²⁵³ During the first three months of the year 1501, work was carried on upon the great tower towards Gate Hurtault (south tower), as well as on the garden. From Oct. to Dec. 1502, the stones were delivered for constructing the vaults of the great tower of the chateau, as well as the corbel stones for the machicolations of the great tower; ²⁵³ on Jan. 14, 1503 (new style), the keystone was paid for.

Note 253. Croy, J. de. p. 12, 13, 15, 190.

Immediately after his accession to the throne, Francis I likewise introduced a new and zealous activity in building at Amboise.

So far as it concerns the existing remains of the Chateau at Amboise, we limit ourselves to mentioning the two great circular towers, which instead of a staircase contain an inclined ramp for riding, that in four spiral turns around a newel internally round and externally polygonal, leads to the elevated platform of the chateau. In the interiors of the towers are to be found pointed cross vaults; the light enters through lofty and narrow round arched windows, which are spaced regularly and follow the ascent in the interior, forming the sole external decoration of the tower, except the doorways.²⁵⁴ The simple grandeur of these two towers, whose scale contrasts with the small forms of the chateau, appears to have sprung from a single idea, together with the mighty terraced structure, that extends the platform, and which is likewise animated on the western portion of the north side by round arched windows, and to have already been under Italian impressions and influence. The words of Commynes lead to this understanding, since he mentions them with the great works, that Charles had begun shortly before his death, and on which Italians were employed.²⁵⁵

Note 254. The inharmoonious double series of battlements of the northern tower is a modern restoration.

Note 255. According to Burneau (1814), the south tower was built in 1495, thus during the Italian campaign; yet according to J. de Croy, the work was interrupted during the latter.

Concerning the masters, who designed the buildings at Amboise, we now know nothing at all. But it would be very singular, if Fra Giocondo and Domenico da Cortona did not take a prominent part therein.²⁵⁶

Note 256. J. de Croy (p. 16, 17, 191) believes, that the master mason Gattien Fordebroz must have been the same, who under Louis XII had charge of the works in Amboise; yet he received in 1499 and 1501 only 4 sous and 2 d daily, which seems much too small to consider him as a designing chief master, when compared with what was paid on the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris and the Chateau at Chambord.

Palustre has scarcely been able to show the documents, on the basis of which he assumes that Giocondo, Domenico da Cortona, Alfonso Damasso and Bernardo da Brescia, according to all probability never came to Amboise, and that Jerome Passetrot, who actually was there, never himself worked on the chateau.²⁵⁷ He limits most apocryphically the assistance of the Italian artists on the building of the Chateau at Amboise to the gardener Dom Passello and perhaps also Guido Paganino. But simple reflection requires us, by reason of what we know of the calling of the colony to Amboise and of the later activity of some of their masters, to assume with certainty, that as Commynes states, these Italians, who were called for this purpose from Naples to Amboise, must have actually taken a certain part in the works there, about in the manner indicated in Art. 60.

Note 257. See Palustre in Howard, H. *La France Artistique et Monumentale*. p. 137. Paris. Parts 42-44.

It results from what is stated, that even after the advent of the Italian artist colony a long period of architectural activity prevailed, in which the Italians participated, and that after 1500 Francois de Pontbriant was superintendent of the works, the same that in 1503 had the same problem to solve in Blois, as well as during the first two years of the works at Chambord, thus during the period in which the designs of these buildings of the Chateau were decided upon, although he was represented at Chambord by two other persons.

121. Chateau at Blois.

At the Chateau of Blois, the wing bearing the name of Francis I chiefly owes its origin to his queen Claude, Countess of Blois. According to J. de Croy, it may be definitely stated, that Jacques Sourdeau superintended this building as master mason. This extends from the Hall des Etats to the tower of Chateau-Renault, was begun in 1515 and appears to have been completed in 1519. There formerly stood in the same place a building in three stories, that contained a gallery and was flanked externally by three round towers. The ancient wall of more than 6.56 ft. thickness was retained, and it now forms the rear wall of the loggias; all the ancient foundations were also utilized again.

Concerning Jacques Sourdeau, master mason of the works and reparations of the Chateau of Blois, there occur the following notices.

He received from the queen the site for building a house in Blois for himself and his heirs. Designated as master mason of the works of the Chateau of Blois in 1518, he received 250 livres for various works in masonry, carpentry, roofing, joinery and locksmithing, as well as for various fabrics, to fit up a part of the chateau for the advent of the Dauphin. On Aug. 8, 1519, he was appointed master of the works of the county of Blois in place of the resigning Simonnet Guischart.²⁵⁸

Note 258. On the other Sourdeaus, see J. de Croy, p. 94 etc.

According to J. de Croy, the external loggia structure on the north wing of the chateau at Blois only gradually assumed its present form.

It was originally a simple terrace to the second story. A About 10 years later, but still in Claude's time, the lower loggias were constructed; over these a wooden gallery was built in 1559 or 1560, which in 1568 was constructed in stone at the command of Catherine. The erection of the uppermost open gallery was decided upon in 1570.

The entire external facade is a kind of loggia structure, by means of which the architect desired to give to the irregular older parts a new and regular facade in the new fashion, in the same manner and for the same purpose as Bramante's wing with Raphael's loggias in the Vatican. That the then unique side of the court of S. Damaso served as a model is manifest. There are to be found the same number of stories and the same treatment; two series of arcades crowned by an open columnar loggia; but the axes, instead of being in a simple series as on another part of the Vatican by Bramante, the Giardino della Pigna, are arranged in the so-called rhythmic bays.

The purpose of the mouldings in the Chateau at Blois is frequently the same as on that at Bury, but never so refined in either drawing or execution.

122. Chateau at Chambord.

Concerning the architectural history of the Chateau at Chambord, the following more important notices occur.

The counts of Blois had already built the two manor houses or small fortified little castles at Chambord and Montfraut in the "Forest of Boulougne" lying eastward from Blois, on account of the abundance of game. From that last named, Francis I visited the structural works of the new Chateau. In the documents, in which Francois de Pontbriant is named as superintendent of works, the king speaks on Sept. 6, 1519, of the "beautiful and sumptuous building, which he has ordered to be built in Chambord", and J. de Croy has proved,²⁵⁹ that these works were not commenced merely in 1524 or 1526, but were already in progress in 1522. Even if this also then first concerned only the foundations, which were very difficult and costly, -- the delivery of 300,000 livres,²⁶⁰ according to others as costly as the superstructure, -- then it results, that the design for the Chateau at Chambord was likewise already completed in 1522, and probably even in 1519.

Note 259. J. de Croy. p. 94.

Note 260. J. de Croy. p. 78 (according to the Venetian ambassador Lippomano.

At the end of the year 1523, the king busied himself in the enclosure of the park, and already in 1534, the master masons Pierre Neveu, called Trinqueau, and N. Coqueau were called f from Chambord to Amboise in order to give their opinions there,²⁶¹. The query of H. de la Valliere, whether this concerned the removal of the old fortress or already referred to the new buildings is answered by the preceding.

Note 261. See Chevalier, Les Archives d'Amboise.

In consequence of the war and the captivity of the king, the works were interrupted for about 27 months, but were again commenced on Oct. 1, 1526. The superintendence of the entire undertaking was now entrusted to a new commission, that continued for 15 years without change. There were 1800 workmen constantly employed on the building. During the period of 1526-1536, the exterior of the Chateau must have been substantially erected.²⁶² Yet long afterwards work proceeded on additions and rebuilding, certainly on a smaller scale; from 1531-1535, the king expended annually 60,000 livres for the building.

Note 262. It is intelligible, how this view accords with the

statement, that Antoine de Troyes undertook the building of the towers and of the rectangular pavilion of the donjon, which is that by this is meant the portions above the cornice, thus the attic, the roofs, the rich dormer windows and chimneys.

About 1534, the roofs arose under the supervision of Maugyn Bonneau, master carpenter of the building of Chambord, and the lead required for covering the same was produced on the spot. Antoine de Troyes worked in 1537-1538 on the completion and equipment of the terraces,²⁶³ and at the end of Dec. 1539, when the emperor Charles V visited the Chateau at Chambord, the portion of the Chateau called the donjon was already completed.²⁶⁴ After frequent changes, the "superintendence" was transferred in the year 1543 to a woman, Anne Gedoyne, and in the following year was concluded the contract for the building of a stairway above the already dressed parts, and which was to be decorated externally by columns and to end in a lantern, which latter was to be crowned by a lily, and caryatids were to be added to it. Yet since there 8 and not 6 windows in the central stairway, and since caryatids are wanting there, this description may perhaps suit the stairway reproduced in Fig. 83, and judging from the remains, which formerly bore an addition at top (the great lily); its style would better conform to the date of 1544, than that of the lantern. This agreement was made with Coqueau and purports, that the stairway is to be after his design and arrangement, -- the first indication in the architectural history of the Chateau at Chambord, which refers to a master producing a design. The style thereof is also already progressive; it almost belongs to the high Renaissance.

Note 263. "For the perfect harmony of the terraces and other buildings of Chambord? (J. de Croy. p. 80).

Note 264. In reference to the contract of 1544, J. de Croy believes, that the lantern had not then been completed; but this contract evidently relates to the other stairway represented in Fig. 83 and not to that in Fig. 81.

Capitals of the pilasters of the first terrace of the lantern above the general terrace of the donjon bear the date of 1533. this does not prevent the completion of the lantern in

1534 or 1535. Some of these capitals exhibit a certain peculiarity in such expressive manner, that one is almost compelled to ascribe them to a carver, who had worked in Milan under Bramante and Garadosso. On the side of the lantern next the street of Blois, on the capital of the pier at the right of the middle pier towards Blois, there is wrought a characteristic head instead of the elsewhere usual rosette, with a thin treatment of the neck after the manner of Garadosso, in which I am tempted to see a portrait of Bramante. On one place on the lantern may be read the name "Aristo (?) Milanese" and the date 15-3"; the third indecipherable figure seems most likely to be 3. On another place is found the inscription "Malleteste 1540."

In the year 1550, a number of beams and rotten floors had to be replaced.

Since a site for the chateau was chosen in the marshy valley of the Cosson, to canalize the river, to build on piles, to drain the swamps, and to fill the moats of the Chateau with running water.

We know nothing of the beginning of these works. In the year 1527 or 1528, the king had the engineer Pietro Caccia (Pierre Gaste) come from Novara,²⁶⁵ who was to study the grand project, whether the entire Loire, -- as some maintained, -- or only a portion thereof could be conducted to the Chateau at Chambord. Meantime men were satisfied with straightening the Cosson within the length of the park, making it navigable and leading it past the Chateau, further draining the surroundings by means of a canal towards Chaussee-le-Comte. These works were also carried on by the building commission of the Chateau (about 1530-1540); but since the chateau was inundated by high water, alterations must have been made in the completed buildings.

Note 265. Louis II of Orleans had in 1496 already had two members of this family come to France. (J. de Croy. p. 177).

After 1544, these hydraulic works were carried on by another Italian, Paul de Breignan, called Paul the Italian or Paoul,²⁶⁶ who according to Italian custom also had to superintend the cattle and cheese-making. He died in 1551 without having brought the canalization to an end. This was also nev-

never entirely completed afterwards, and the consequence was, that the water remainid stagnant in the moats, which were filled up under Stanislaus. Thereby the appearance of the chateau became heavier.

Note 266. Not to be confounded with Pierre Paul, called t the Italian, who died in 1535 in Fontainebleau, and was employed in S. Germain.

123. Executive Masters of the Chateau at Chambord.

In reference to the executive masters of the chateau and t the other persons engaged on the buildings, the following important notices occur.

In 1524, Pierre Nepveu, called Trinqueau, and Denis Sourdeau are named as master masons hawing charge of the building of Chambord. The one first named had worked in 1508 in a subordinate position in Amboise, and Denis Sourdeau, who was at least the executive master of the wing of Francis I at the Chateau of Blois.

In 1526, as an expert at Orleans, Denis Sourdeau is cited as master mason and stonecutter, living in the city of Blois, and having charge of the works in masonry for the king our master at Chambord. Before the year 1533, he had heplaced his father as "master of the works of the county of Blois", and he died on May, 15, 1534.

On Dec. 12, 1536, Pierre Nepveu held in fee a cellar cut in the rock beneath the chateau, and on Jan. 17, 1537, he possessed a piece of ground of 4 arpents in the farm of la Rodine, likewise pertaining to the barony of Amboise. On April 25, 1538, Pierre Nepveu replaced Antoine de Troyes as comptroller.

Of Jacques Coqueau it is known, that in 1527 with Gonnyn C Collombet, he stood at the head of the best paid masons. It appears that he replaced Denis Sourdeau after his death. On Aug. 27, 1558, after the demise of Trinqueau, he became the first master mason in the workshops at Chambord. In the year 1544, a contract concerning the external crowning structure of the central stairway (or the angle stairway; see Art. 122 and Fig. 183) was concluded with Jacques Coqueau, master mason of said buildiggs, according to the design and arrangement made by said master mason. In 1549, he was called as an expert and was designated as master mason of Chambord, and on Nov.

7 of the same year, he was appointed comptroller and master of the works of the county.

In the year 1556, Coqueau was called to Chenonceau to measure the bridge there and to fix the price for the works on it. In the same year, he worked on the design and the estimate of cost for the gardener's dwelling at Blois; he was named comptroller for the king in his city of Blois and master mason on his chateau of Chambord, receiving as master mason of the king, to have charge, make designs and estimates for the masonry and carpentry, a salary of 400 livres. Coqueau died at the end of 1569. On Jan. 26, 1570, his nephew Claude Sourdeau was appointed master of the works of the county of Blois, and in the corresponding documents it is stated, that he had supplied the place of his uncle for 8 or 9 years during his illness and infirmities.

The following is known concerning the building organization.

Francois de Pontbriant, lord of Villate, who was sent to F Ferrara in 1576, was for more than 20 years superintendend of the buildings at Blois and Amboise, also of those at Chambord after Sept., 1519. He was at the same time captain of the Chateau, bailiff and governor of Blois, and he constantly traveled with the royal family. Soon after his appointment at Chambord, he was replaced by Mathurin Viart and Pierre du Donnet, and he died on Sept. 11, 1521. Likewise the superintendence of the gardens of the chateau at Blois was entrusted to him.²⁶⁷

Note 267. See Groy, J. De. p. 20-21, 32-34, 37, 42-45, 61, 66, 99, 116.

Antoine de Troyes was in 1522 comptroller of the works on the Chateau at Chambord. Already in the year 1517, he occupied the same position on the Chateau at Amboise. In 1520-1521, he was clerk for keeping accounts and making payments for the repairs of the dikes and levees of the Loire and the Cher. On March 29, 1537, he undertook by contract the building of the towers and the rectangular pavilion of the donjon, and in 1537-1538 the perfect agreement of the terraces and the other buildings of Chambord, and two days after the conclusion of this contract, he resigned his former office of comptroller.

In the year 1534, Maugyn Bonneau is designated as master

carpenter of the building of Chambord. Six years later, Jacques Coqueau was "master mason, employed to build and superintend the masonry of the said edifices", Guillaume de Heurteulx was first stonecutter (master of stonecutting), and Raymond Soret kept the accounts of the masons and laborers.

In the year 1550, the master carpenter, Pierre de Soursieres, living at Blois, furnished the estimate and drawing of the carpentry required for the chapel, that the king was then completing at the Chateau of Chambord, according to this, he appears to have made the drawing and design for the carpentry of the roof.

The mason Goussyn Collombet was a veteran of the royal workshops. About 1498, he was taken from compassion by a master mason named Bonnet and was instructed by him in his trade; he came in 1519 at the age of 22 or 23 years to Blois, and he worked without interruption for 30 years in Chambord.²⁶⁸ In 1527, with Jacques Coqueau, he found himself among the best paid masons.

Note 268. See de Groy. p. 74.

Of Denis Sourdeau (1519 ?), Pierre Nepveu, called Trinqureau (1524-1538), Jean Gobereau and Jacques Coqueau, masters also mentioned by Palustre,²⁶⁹ according to all the best known statements, in my opinion not one deserves designation as a designing chief master. This opinion of mine is based on the following facts:--

Note 269. In *L'Architecture de la Renaissance*. p. 205. Paris. 1892.

1. Jacques Coqueau, designated as master mason, received daily 27 sous 6 d, but from 1556 as master mason of the king, having charge of, making drawings and estimates for masonry and carpentry, a yearly salary of 400 livees.²⁷⁰ From this salary and his employment it results, that he must have been given a higher position than that of master mason with daily wages of 27 sous 6 d. Since Pierre Trinqureau only received the latter wage, it is to be assumed, that this was also not the position of the designing master, entrusted with the highest supervision, but that this was transferred to a personage, who probably also received a salary of 400 livres, and who is not clearly recognized now, or at least in recent times.

Note 270. See Felibien. p. 35.

2. Opposed to the assumption that Pierre Trinquenau was the designing creator of the Chateau at Chambord appears the fact, that in the last years of his life, he was comptroller of the works at Chambord, indeed in place of Antoine de Troyes, who was no longer suitable for exercising such functions, after he had in the preceding year (1537) undertaken an active part in the erection of the donjon. The position of comptroller, even as a place for life, hardly admits of being regarded as worthy of the designing and for a long time superintending a architect of the Chateau at Chambord.²⁷¹

Note 271. See de Croy. p. 79, 80.

3. Concerning this question, there seems to be indicated a comparison with what is known of the position and salary of the leading personage employed on the nearly contemporaneous building of the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris. The following summary affords the points required for this.

On the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, therefore after 1532, Boccardor, who made the design for it and superintended the building, received 250 livres in addition to 240 paid him by the king; Chambiges, stonecutter, mason and dorman of workmen, received daily 25 sous, and Arselin, master of works of the city and clerk to the superintendence of carpentry, received 75 livres.

At the building of the Chateau at Chambord (between 1527 and 1530), Pierre Trinquenau, master mason with charge and superintendence of the buildings, was daily paid 27 sous and 6 d, Denis Sourdeau, who had charge of the masonry of the said edifices received 20 sous, and Jean Gobreau, master mason also having charge of another portion of the said buildings, likewise received 20 sous.

The fact that the masters at Chambord here mentioned were all at daily wages and did not receive a yearly salary, furnishes indications against the assumption, that Trinquenau was the designing master. Compare the wages of 27 sous 6 d, that Trinquenau, and for a time also Coqueau received, with the 25 sous that Chambiges was paid daily, and it is probable that Trinquenau's position in Chambord was just as little that of a chief architect, as this happened for Chambiges at the Hot-

Hotel-de-Ville, who was under the supervision of Domenico da Cortona. It is further quite accurately known, that Boccador not only worked out a design for the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris, but at least 12 years earlier one for the Chateau of Chambord, whose essential parts, excepting the stairway, were indeed essentially executed. Thus it is very like, that Boccador took an important part in the designing of the buildings of this chateau, and perhaps the leading one.

124. Designing Masters of the Chateaus on the Loire.

Concerning the manner in which the monuments in question originated, the different sections of mouldings afford some conclusions. The moulding profiles on the Chateaus at Blois, Bury, Chambord and Chenonceau, as well as at Amboise and Tours, frequently exhibit a general character, as if they came from the same master, from one master, whose single function and peculiarity may have consisted in lending to the works mentioned the Italian character of the new style. One might perhaps say, that we also have to do with the pupils of one and the same master, who in the style of the latter were busied on the different chateaus in a harmonious way.

If on the one hand one considers the beautiful movement and the living fullness of many of these profiles, the faultless certainty, with what power of lines, extreme delicacy and grace of projection, the successive members are connected, forming a characteristic part of the monuments in question, and on the other hand compares these results with those of the later profiles of Lescot in the famous court of the Louvre, where in spite of all nobility and of all technical perfection, one feels a certain uncertainty in the projection of the cornices and a frequently less firm connection of the members in the profiles; hence the conclusion must follow, that the profiles on the chateaus on the Loire erected by the king or his minister (Robertet in Bury), were designed and arranged from a central point, and that in the years 1515-1530, the master concerned must have been an Italian. If one conceives this central place as at first in Amboise, later in Blois, in which places Domenico da Cortona successively dwelt, this would fit very well into many relations, proved by documents to exist between the masters at Chambord, Blois and Amboise. T

This would likewise indicate a master, such as Domenico, who was a master of wood construction on both a large and a small scale (maker of chateaus and joiner), likewise a maker of models and also improviser of festal decorations for special festivals. (Compare Art. 71). Such a function of at least partial supervision would further correspond to the title of valet-de-chambre and of cabinet-maker to the queen (Art. 71), that the master mentioned here already possessed on June 5, 1512, as the owner of a house in Blois.²⁷²

Note 272. In 1528, Francis I entrusted to his two ordinary valets de chambre Pierre Paul (called the Italian) and Pierre Deshostels the closing of the contracts, according to their opinions, advice, control, as clerks to reside at our said buildings, to hasten and press their completion, superintend and estimate for them, to oversee and control the costs, the materials and the expenses, that are appropriate, and to certify to and control the same, all for the Chateaus at Fontainebleau, Madrid, Libry and S. Germain, the Louvre and Villars-Cotterets.

125. Boccador and the Court Architect's Office at Blois.

A central office fixed in Blois, from which the execution of the different profiles was carried on, would likewise suit the central functions of Francois de Pontbriant, who for 20 years exercised from Blois the supervision of the royal buildings there, as well as in Amboise and in Chambord likewise, and as Captain of the Chateau and Governor of Blois, he was in constant intercourse with the royal family and learned to know their wishes. This consequently leads to the conclusion, that the drawings for the subdivisions employed on the frequently mentioned chateaus, and even the working out of the entire designs was carried on in a kind of central royal architect's office.

But one may also assume, -- and this seems to me especially probable, -- that in this court architect's office a French master also worked together with Domenico da Cortona, or that both commenced to each prepare a separate design, and that both designs were combined together. As such a fellow-worker of Domenico, Jacques Sourdeau might have been just suitable, not only on account of the offices held by him, but since his

son Denis was found in combination with Trinquenau as the oldest masters of Chambord, and also that in 1570 Claude Sourdeau succeeded his uncle Jacques Coqueau in the superintendence of the buildings, after having represented him for years in Chambord.

Such a court architect's office existing in Blois as the "bureau" of Domenico would also correspond to the nature of a royal architect of the king, already mentioned in Art. 72. This would further explain that hitherto only two statements exist concerning models for the Chateau at Chambord; the one made by Domenico between 1516 and 1531, who then lived in Blois, the other that Felibien saw in Blois. The entirely Italian arrangement of the stairway in the latter being compared with the above mentioned facts, permits it to not appear improbable that even this also refers to the model of Domenico. It is now expressly known, that the latter was prepared at the command of the king, and that this Domenico was granted a high recompense from his secret expenses for this and other works. Therefore it is likewise probable, that the life architect of the king embodied in this model the ideas received directly from Francis I or through Francois de Pontbriant. This direct participation of the king would decidedly contribute toward explaining the unusual in all occurrences during the building of the Chateau at Chambord as well as many things in its appearance.

The preceding analysis strengthens in a high degree the conjectures expressed in Art. 73. It would be difficult to not regard the life architect of Louis XII and of Francis I as the sole, or at least as the chief designer and frequently interfering master of the Chateau at Chambord, and of the wing of Francis I at Blois. Perhaps in the court architect's office at Blois also originated the design for the Hotel de Ville at Paris, that was produced by Domenico, and which the king ordered to be executed in 1532.

4. Masters.

126. Chambiges.

Besides the preceding architects, already occasionally mentioned in the description of the royal Chateaus at Amboise, Blois and Chambord, yet other architects are enumerated in

the following, which either belong to the more important masters of the style of Francis I, or which at least the investigation of the new school strives to bring forward as such.

a. Pierre I. Chambiges, probably Martin's son, died on June 15 or 19, 1544. It has vainly been sought to prove that he was the master of the Hotel de Ville at Paris.

In 1509, he worked on the Cathedral at Troyes, whose chief architect was Martin, and which was under the superintendence of Jean de Soissons, the brother-in-law of Pierre.

In 1519, in place of his father, he inspected the buildings of the Cathedral at Troyes, as well as later in 1531-1532.

In 1533, he worked under Domenico da Cortona on the Hotel de Ville at Paris for wages of 25 sous daily.²⁷³

Note 273. Servio received in 1542, when he worked abroad, 20 sous for diet, besides his annual salary of 400 livres.

In 1536, as master of the works in masonry and of the pavement of the city of Paris, he inspected the fortifications.

In 1538-1539, as master of the works of the king in the bailliwick of Sens, he had from the king the order to prepare models and plans for buildings, that he intended near Hotel de Nesle at Paris for founding the College of the three Languages.

In 1539, as master of works in masonry of the city of Paris, he concluded contracts for buildings at the Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye, for all the masonry.

On Sept. 22, 1541, he closed a contract for works on the Chateau la Muette (near S. Germain), but not indeed for that near Passy, as Lance writes, also for the masonry at Fontainebleau and at S. Germain.

^{127.} b. Hugues Sambin. Sambin. enjoys especial fame in Dijon, because to him is ascribed there the both massive and interesting facade of the Church S. Michael.

Palustre does not believe that Sambin was in condition to draw this facade, whose side portals were already completed in 1537; much more only after 1564, that he could take part in the extension of the same, and especially in the decoration of the tympanum and the deep vaulting of the middle doorway. In opposition to this it is to be stated, that a contemporary of Sambin, the elder Du Cerceau, whose works at least

extend from 1533 to 1534, -- according to their stylistic development, that challenges comparison with those of Sambin, -- was indeed capable of drawing a facade like that of S. Michael at Dijon; his design for Church S. Eustache at Paris (See Fig. 156) proves this, and therefore for stylistic reasons and on account of the character of his later works, one should not too quickly exclude Sambin's authorship of the facade.

Our master is further known on account of the series of hermes composed, engraved and published by him.²⁷⁴ They already exhibit all the excesses of a luxuriant fancy in the style of Wendel Dietterlein or of certain tasteless furniture by Du C Cerceau.

Note 274. Work on the diversity of terms employed in architecture reduced to order by master Hugues Sambin, architect of the City of Dijon. Lyons. 1572.

128. Bachelier.

c. Nicolas Bachelier,²⁷⁵ born June 17, 1485, died about 1572, was the son of an Italian of the name of Bachaliere from Lucca, who was a pupil of Brunellesco and settled in Toulouse about 1480. It appears that while young, Nicolas was sent to Italy, where he studied under Michelangelo and about 1510 returned to Toulouse. However little his actual part may be proved in the works ascribed to him, still it appears certain, that he was the actual and intellectual leader of the artistic development of Toulouse in the 16th century. On Aug. 24, 1555, he was designated in a direction for works on the Capitol at Toulouse as master mason or master carver of images.

Note 275. We here follow the corresponding Article of Maurice du Seigneur in Planat (Vol. 2, p. 208) without being able to test the accuracy of the statement.

The only two works certainly due to Bachelier are:--

1. The gateway of the Seminary de l'Esquille, rue du Tour at Toulouse.

2. The gate de la Commutation there, which originally formed the gate of the Capitol, and has now changed its place a second time, when it has been transferred to the Jardin des Plantes at Toulouse.²⁷⁶

Note 276. See Construction Moderne, 3rd year, p. 182.

In the succeeding tolerably comprehensive list of works ascribed to Bachelier, modern investigations are inclined to regard scarcely any of them as due to him, indeed chiefly on account of the difference of the style. Yet here as in the preceding Art., we might warn against overhasty steps, since for a master that became so old, very similar changes of style must occur, as for Du Cerceau.

As due to Bachelier may be designated:--

1. Chateau Assier in Quercy.
2. Church at Assier (begun 1545) with the Mausoleum of Galliot de Genouilhac.
3. Chateau Montal near Sant-Cere. (Begun 1534).
4. Chateau Castelnau de Bretenoux.
5. Two bas-reliefs in the Church of Grande Observance at Toulouse.
6. Bas-reliefs in the Church of Cordeliers there.
7. Figures of the inner portal of the Hotel de Ville. there.
8. Figures of Hotel de Castellan there.
9. Sculptures of the facade of Palace du Magnier there. (Also called Hotel de Lasbordes.
10. Caryatids of Palace Saint-Jaury there.
11. Altar in the nave of Church S. Etienne there, ostensibly his masterpiece.
12. Altar in Church of Peres de la Trinity there.
13. High altar and the portico decorated by high reliefs in the Church Notre Dame de la Dalbade there.
14. Bridge Saint-Rubra there, begun 1543, continued by his son Dominique, and completed in 1601 by P. Souffron.

Some assert that Bachelier died at the court of Philip II.

129. De l'Espine.

d. Jean de l'Espine, or de Lespine, born in 1505 at Angers and died there in 1576, according to Palustre was entrusted with continuing the work on the facade of Hotel de Prince at Angers, and according to Lance, he filled in this city the office of a commissary of repairs. Palustre calls him the celebrated Jean de Lespine and holds him to be the personification of the Renaissance in Anjou, so to speak.

Bell-towers (La Trinite at Angers, Beaufort-en-Valee, Les Rosiers) are chiefly due to this master; yet he likewise built

Chateau "de Vergers" in the Commune de Seiches on the left bank of the Loire.

In 1540 and 1544, de l'Espine was engaged on the domical structure between the towers of the Cathedral at Angers, on which he worked after 1533.

According to R. Dom de la Tremblay,²⁷⁷ the same master built in 1536 the courtyard and the chartrier of the Hotel de Ville at Angers with its portal in 1543, also in 1558 the audience hall and the great hall of the President there, and in 1561 and 1565, he conducted the festivities for the reception of kings Henry II and Charles IX.

130. Sohier.

Hector Sohier is regarded as the master of the beautiful and interesting radiating chapels of the choir of Church S. Pierre in Caen.

131. Other Masters.

Lance²⁷⁸ also mentions the following masters, who worked under Francis I:--

Note 278. Lance, A. dictionnaire des Architectes Francois. Paris. 1873.

Louis Caqueton; worked in 1529-1533 on the Hotel de Ville at Paris at the same time as Boccador.

Andree Colombeau; had charge in 1518 of building the Church du Brou near Bourg; Philippe de Chartres worked under this master.

Jacques Coqueau. (See Art. 123).

Antoine Fontant at La Rochefoucault.

Various members of the Francois family are mentioned in Tours; Bastien, Gatien, Jean I and Martin; Bastien Francois must have built the cloister of Church S. Martin there.

Guillaume Lissorges, called the Deaf de Bournazel, built in 1533 the portal, the gallery, and the pilasters of the court in the Chateau at Graves, he was perhaps pupil and successor of Baduel.

Pierre Palangier erected in 1514-1524 the Church and the Tower at Belmont-en-Vabrais.

Jean Paris, called Thouvenin, was employed in 1541 and 1547 as master of works in the duchy of Lorraine, and in 1541 on the building of the Palace at Nancy.

From Palustre's work mentioned below, the following list of architects is collected, without desiring to support the correctness of Palustre's opinions.

Note 279. L'Architecture de la Renaissance. Paris. 1892.

Blaise le prestre (priest).

Antoine Jovillon -- Chateau La Bastie (1535-1555).

Nicolas Godinet -- wing of Francis I on Palace Archbishop at Sens.(1535).

Mathurin Berthome -- Hotel de Ville at Niort (1532-1535).

Jehan Beaudoin -- Hotel de Ville at Loches.

Gilles Le Breton -- employed in Fontainebleau (1523-1547).

Jacques and Guillaume Le Breton -- royal apartments at Villars-Cotterets.(After 1532).

Vaultier and Gilles Agasse -- forecourt at Villars-Cotterets.(1559).

Etienne Rousseau -- apparently in Azay-le-Rideau.(1516-1524).

Charles Billard, more correctly Villard -- apparently employed on Chateau at Ecouen (1532 til about 1550).

Guillaume Pellevoisin -- later Hotel Cujas at Bourges (1555).

Pierre Lemercier -- apparently on Church S. Eustache at Paris (after 1532) and Church S. Maclou at Pontoise.

Mathurin Delaborde -- choir chapels of Church Notre Dame d des Marais at Ferte-Bernard.(1535-1544).

Jean Gendre and Jean Odonne -- completion of tower of Church at Bressuire.(1538).

Gerard Faulchot -- beginning of the building of Church S. Nicolas at Troyes.(1518).

Jehan Faulchot, son of the preceding,-- continuation of the building of this church.(1535).

Pierre Hamon -- cloister of Church des Cordeliers at Paris. (1539-1540).

Francois Marchand-- Cathedral at Chartres (after 1534); with Jehan Bernardeau, the roodloft in Church S. Pierre there. (1540-1543).

Jean Bernardeau-- see the above mentioned architects.

Martin Claustre-- Tomb of Charlotte d'Albert at la Mothe-Feuilly (about 1520).

Ligier-Richer-- Tomb of Philippine of Gueldres, consort of duke Renatus II of Lorraine at Nancy.(1543).

Grapin--see the masters of the High Renaissance(under d).

c. Moment of most charming Bloom.

(Style of Margaret of Valois).

About 1535 - 1545.

132. Transition to the High Renaissance.

Before entering upon the introduction of these steps in the development of French architecture, which is termed the High Renaissance, the intermediate phases should be considered in detail, that form the transition from the early to the high Renaissance. To make these especially prominent must be justified by artistic reasons, although this period has not yet received a special name in the usual designations of the styles in France. (Style Regency, Style Pompadour, etc.). This may therefore be omitted, since such periods, in which art has unfolded the greatest bloom, are as a rule of brief duration, perhaps for the reason, that because during the period in question no individual architectural work of the first rank was executed in the capital, its lesser works have disappeared, and only fragments of the other monuments exist, scattered in the provinces.

And yet this epoch of transition is characterized by elements, which lend to French Renaissance architecture the highest charm; the alliance of individual, fresh, creative imagination with living and conclusive application of general principles. We might therefore assign to this the designation of "Style of Marguerite de Valois" in memory of the sister of Francis I, whom the latter was accustomed to call the Marguerite of Marguerites, since the period of her influence just coincides with the same phase, as the refined tendency of her mind harmonizes with the climax of the bloom.

This period has produced two different groups of structures. In the first one, the composition still adheres to those of the early Renaissance, but it is refined from all doubtful and overloaded elements; the details indeed still belong to the early Renaissance, yet are treated in the noble spirit of the high Renaissance. In the second group, the architectural works are already treated in the spirit and in the forms of the high Renaissance (of the Style of Henry II); yet in the details everywhere appears the youthful freshness and love of ornament of the early Renaissance in the way peculiar to them.

133. Examples of the First Tendency.

Of the monuments belonging to the first group may be mentioned here: the cloister of Church des Celestins at Paris, between 1539 and 1549 and torn down in 1847, ostensibly the work of Pierre Hamon; the chapels of Church S. Jacques at Rheims;²⁸⁰ parts of Churches S. Pierre at Loudun, at Sarcelles and at Belloy; to a certain degree, the facade of the Church at Luzarches; the court of Hotel de Mauroy at Troyes and of Hotel d'Escoville at Caen, parts of the facade of Church Notre Dame at Tonnerre, but especially a portion of Church S. Pierre there; the portals at Neuvy-Santour and at Epernay, illustrated in Figs. 157 and 158; further, judging from representations, the ruins of the Abbey of Valmont near Fecamp (Fig. 88); lastly the so-called House of Francis I at Orleans. (Fig. 292).

Note 280. Illustrated in Lübke, Fig. 126.

Among the numerous drawings of this period as well as among the engravings of Du Cerceau, and especially those produced in 1540-1560, many show that the already mentioned climax in the bloom of French architecture actually existed.²⁸¹

Note 281. Among the engravings under the eyes of the author, and which are reproduced in his work "Les Du Cerceau" (Paris. 1887) are especially prominent, a dormer window (Fig. 72), which usually occurs in the series of Du Cerceau's furniture, and the drawing for a well (Fig. 84), where four jugs are placed around a central larger one.

In the realm of decoration, the phase of French architecture in question shows us, how the splendid use of ornamentation by Raphael and by Giovanni da Udine and also of the Milanese-Bramante manner, as it appears on certain parts of Church S. Marie delle Grazie at Milan and of the Cathedral at Como, could combine with the French spirit in entire harmony, how it was accepted by the latter with sparkling vivacity, without obtaining supremacy and leading into byways by overloaded and capricious conceits.

To this extremely charming period likewise belongs Du Cerceau's smaller "Livre de Grotesques" (Orleans, 1550, 1562), in which he appears to be inspired by Bramante, Nicoletto da Modena, and by masters of their time.

The style tendency of this first group of architectural works expresses in manifold ways with tolerable accuracy those in the second manner of Bramante, as this may be found in the Canonica di S. Ambrogio at Milan and in the court of the Cancelleria at Rome. But on the contrary, the second group, the corresponding Italian phase is represented by such buildings as the interior of the choir of the Cathedral at Como, the forecourt of the Church S. Maria presso S. Eusebio at Milan, the little facade in the court of Palace Doge at Venice by Guglielmo Bergamasco, the vestibule to the sacristy of Church S. Spirito at Florence, the facade of the Church at Abbiate Grasso, and the Church Madre di Piazza at Busto Arsizio.

134. Examples of the Second Tendency.

Among the executed architectural works of this second group, it would not be easy to name a large one of this style. Were the two capitals of the Cathedral at Toul (Figs. 136, 191), only somewhat more refined in proportions and in details, the first place would indeed be conceded to them. Elsewhere are to be named, to a certain degree, the Chapel S. Romain at Rouen (Fig. 34) and the two columns of Jean Goujon in the same city. On the Fountain des Innocents at Paris and in the court of the Louvre there, the phase in question is already overpassed.

In the domain of decorative works, reference may be made in the chapel at Rouen to a high balustrade of the organ gallery and the press with the door in the wooden paneling, now transferred to the chapel at Chantilly; both are works of Jean Goujon. Also to be named are the latter's caryatid porch in the Louvre, the older of his doors in Church S. Maclou at Rouen and in the Cathedral there, as well as the upper frieze of the Tomb of Breze.

This phase of French architecture likewise occurs in the drawings and engravings of Du Cerceau. No executed architectural work indeed exhibits more classical nobler, and more vivid mouldings, whose members are animated by scrollwork and ornaments of unusually refined movement, than are to be found in some places of his work "Details d'Ordres d'Architecture."²⁸²

Note 282. See Geymüller, H. de. Les Du Cerceau etc. Figs. 82, 83 and p. 314. Paris. 1887.

d. High Renaissance.

(Style Henry II).

About 1540 (or (1545) to 1570.

135. Characteristics.

If one compares the monuments of the French high Renaissance, which might be named the classical epoch of the 16 th century, with those of the preceding step in development, they then appear as the natural results of steady logical work proceeding from the new spirit, which about the end of the 15 th century began to penetrate into French architecture from Italy. The constant increase of Italian-Antique elements and the unbroken disappearance of Gothic must lead thereto.

After the details of Italo-Antique art were first introduced, and later also the larger forms likewise, such as doors, windows and columnar orders, men gradually came to the moment, when it was sought to treat the general composition and even the design also, so far as native opinions permitted, as much as possible in the character of Bramante's high Renaissance, which dominated Italy during the first half of the 16 th century through the pupils of that master. The application of this programme to French conditions, its development with French spirit, -- these are the characteristic ideas of the High Renaissance of France.

It deserves to be made prominent, that what was accomplished in the realm of architecture was repeated in other intellectual domains. Words like the following by Henri Martin,²⁸³ might just as well relate to the development of architecture.

Note 283. In *Histoire de France depuis les Temps les plus reculees jusqu'en 1789*. Vol. 9. p. 2. Paris. 1833-1836. 4 th edition. Paris. 1846-1860.

He writes that with the reign of Henry II rose yet higher the splendor of the fine arts (letters). France had no rival in the knowledge of antiquity, the College de France and the School of Bourges for Roman Law controlled the learning of a all Europe. Robert and Henri Etienne published at Geneva their Thesaurus in the Latin and Greek languages.

After Alciati, the creator of historical and archaeological method, comes Cujas, the great jurist of the Renaissance, who had one social ideal, the conviction of the superiority of R

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Roman and antique principles to the feudal; posterity has justified him. Roman law, modified according to the needs of a modern society and combined with the best elements of customs, is the chief element of French legislation.

By the Lombard Condon, algebra made important advances. Franz Viete from Poitou introduced letters as general symbols of magnitude.

136. Increase of Italian Influence.

Henri Martin says further, that at the court of Francis I, Italian was familiar to all, and under the influence of this language, even the pronunciation of French at once began to change. Then arose Italianized French, as Spanishized French occurred at the end of the 16th century.

Among the attendants of Catharine de Medici, the consort of the later king Henry II, Italians were found in great numbers, who were very influential at the court and introduced a multitude of Italian words into the court speech. The soldiers, who had remained long in Piedmont and Tuscany, did the same in their circles. In the domain of fortification, the Italian engineers (ingegneri) played an entirely leading part. The prolonged influence of Catharine herself, especially in the second half of the high Renaissance, was so important, that Anthyme-Saint-Paul preferred the designation of Style Catherine to Style Henry II and Charles IX, not only because she almost exactly corresponds in time with the duration of this style tendency, but on account of the personal influence of the queen and her participation, that was much greater, than that of her husband and their three sons. It was this, as Saint-Paul says further, besides a recognition of the part, which a series of superior women had played in art, as well as in the development and application of architecture, as Palustré has clearly proved.

Whichever of these designations may be employed, one thing should never be forgotten; the transformation of the early Renaissance, and the origin of the high Renaissance, were entirely completed under Francis I in the 5 to 10 last years of his reign. Under him was the design of the Louvre decided upon, and the building was begun in the year of his death.

1. Group of the five most prominent Architects.

137. Most distinguished Architects.

The French high Renaissance was embodied on the one hand by the erection of the court of the Louvre and by the school at Fontainebleau, on the other by the group of its five most prominent architects, namely:-- Jean Goujon, until now chiefly known as France's greatest sculptor, Pierre Lescot, Jean Bullant and Philibert de l'Orme. Born at the same time and heretofore almost exclusively mentioned as a painter, Primaticcio was added to them, while Serlio's influence, which was indeed very considerable, was chiefly caused by his writings. An entirely separate place belongs to Jacques I Androuet du Cerceau, unwearied in his numberless engravings and works, in which he circulated the forms of the new art in France, a according to all appearance the creator of two famous chateaus and at the same time father of two generations of important architects.

138. Increase of Italian Influence.

Although we stand before five great French architects, yet neglecting their nationality, the fact that they all completed their training in Italy is further evidence of the progress of Italian architecture in France. Whoever is more intimately acquainted with the works of Italian architects in the years 1480-1550, will everywhere recognize, that the five architects mentioned stood in intimate intellectual intercourse and connection with the pupils in the last manner of Bramante, Antonio da Sangallo, Peruzzi, Giulio Romano, Sanmicheli and Alessi, who indisputably dominated architecture in Italy until 1547. Just like these six Italians, these five Frenchmen must be designated essentially as pupils of the still so little known "last manner" of Bramante.

Also this golden period of the French Renaissance did not result so badly as its older and nobler sister in Italy, yet it was injured in its finest expression by the religious wars and the corruption of manners. To obtain an idea of the nobility and variety of the picture presented by the architecture of the high Renaissance in both countries is only permitted to the few architects, who have the time to seek out the separate and scattered fragments, and to restore them in a certain sense by comparison as well as by the help of original

designs, so far as such still exist. The Judgment of Henri Martin in his "Histoire de France" is therefore entirely just, when he says:-- "The elegant architecture of the second period of the Renaissance, the purely Italian, scarcely survived the generation of De l'Orme, Lescot and Bullant; the school founded by Francis I died with Catherine de Medici." The latter came to France in 1533 and died there in 1589.

In a peculiar way there also occurred in the same years of 1530-1536, in which the five great French masters chiefly returned from Italy, phenomena and events farreaching in religious and intellectual domains, and which penetrate deeply into the character of that epoch, and must aid in determining its fate. We refer to the appearance of the works of Rabelais,²⁸⁴ the vow of Ignatius Loyola on Montmartre in 1534, and the appearance of Calvin's "Institutes of the Christian Religion". (Basle. 1535). In these phenomena occurring on the threshold of the high Renaissance, we not only descry the standards around which were arranged the highest intellectual interests of that period; but the two last mentioned occurrences are also the sources from which streams of blood later poured over all France, and after more than thirty years of war, placed in question the unity of the state. These contests not only drove the high Renaissance to a too sudden end, but they also cast their shadows on the succeeding century and frequently even to the present time.

Note 284. Les grandes et inestimable Croniques du grant et enorme Geant Gargantua etc. Lyons. 1532. -- 2nd edition without date. -- 3rd edition in 1535.

It is a singular occurrence, that the five famous French architects, whose labors will now be briefly described, all appear to have been born between 1510 and 1515, thus being of nearly equal age. Since it further appears, that several of them were in Italy at the same time, an alliance of comradeship must have been already formed there between them, which may have afforded opportunity for their frequently working together later. The loss of the duchy of Milan may have contributed to thereafter divert the steps of French architects toward Rome.

a. Jean Goujon.

139. Studies of Goujon and of Lescot in Italy.

The facts to be stated now permit me to place Jean Goujon as the earliest master of the High Renaissance, therefore to begin directly with the description of his work.

Jean Goujon, who was probably born in Normandy, and as it appears, died in Bologna between 1564 and 1568, is regarded as the greatest sculptor of France; but he was also an architect.

In the translation of "Vitruvius" by J. Martin,²⁸⁵ he designates himself as studious in architecture. When Martin writes to the king, he calls him therein the former architect of the Constable and now one of his own (i.e. of the king). J. Gardet and Dominique Bertin designate him in their "Epitome de Vitruve" (Paris. 1565) as sculptor and architect of great renown (de grande bruit).

Note 285. Architecture ou Art de bien bastir, de M. Vitruve, mis de Latin en Francoys, par Jean Martin. Paris. 1547. Jan Goujon studieux d'architecture aux Lecteurs.

Berty asks the question, who was really the instructor of Goujon, and he is angry with Quatremere de Quincy, because the latter assumes that he must have studied the antique in Italy. If this had been the case, Berty says, that Goujon would certainly not have neglected to mention the fact in that letter found in Martin's "Vitruvius". Certainly Goujon does not do this; but it is no less true, that further circumstances made prominent in this letter prove, that at the beginning of his career, he must necessarily have studied in Italy. But since the same passage also affords proof, that Lescot likewise completed his studies in Italy, the arguments for both masters will be presented together in the following.

That Jean Goujon and Pierre Lescot also applied themselves to their first studies in Italy has been previously assumed by various writers as self-evident, yet without proof; others show with satisfaction that this was not the case. Certainly if the two noblest masters of the France Renaissance had developed their architectural style without coming in contact with the movements of Italy, it might be concluded from this, that the high Renaissance was in a certain degree an indigenous, independent and natural development from the early Renaissance in France. Nevertheless many indications in the works

of these masters are opposed to this view, and likewise to what is known to us concerning the circumstances of the development of other architectural styles.

There are chiefly two sources on which may be based the proofs in question; first a passage of his Commentary on Martin's "Vitruvius", and secondly a series of entirely characteristic examples, from which follows the direct influence of a art works in Italy by Ghiberti, Sansovino, Raphael and Michelangelo.

The passage in Martin's "Vitruvius" referred to states; "A And still today we have in this kingdom of France a Messire Sebastian Serlio, who is very industrious, has written and drawn much on the rules of Vitruvius, and who was the first to bring to light in the kingdom such instruction". If anyone were in France, who must know exactly what such words meant, that was Goujon, the architect of the Constable, almost the earliest commentator on Vitruvius in France, and its greatest sculptor. Therefore from the passage mentioned may be deduced the following conclusions.

1. Since Serlio was the first, who made France acquainted with the instructions of Vitruvius, one was not previously in France in a position to learn the classic forms of antique architecture according to the rules of Vitruvius; but this was possible in Italy, the native land of Serlio.

2. Yet if Goujon permits it to be understood, that he knew some in France, who were able to explain these rules, they could only have acquired this ability in Italy.

3. Since Goujon names among the latter only Pierre Lescot and Philibert de l'Orme, this is a clear proof, that these two masters certainly studied in Italy.

4. The fact, that Jean Goujon wrote the Commentary on Vitruvius here considered, and who was almost contemporary with Philander, the first Frenchman, who undertook it, is indeed sufficient proof, that he must likewise have acquired the ability for this by studies in Italy.

5. The circumstance, that the Tomb of Preze at Rouen was already built in 1535 in the same classical style, that could have been adapted only in Italy through the teaching of Vitruvius, thus being at a time falling 6 years before Serlio's

arrival in France, and some years earlier, before Philibert De l'Orme began the Chateau at S. Maur, which he himself designates as the first building in the new tendency in France, this circumstance speaks strongly in favor of the authorship of Goujon, who was already the first in France to comment upon and illustrate Vitruvius. It is possible to perhaps also take the evidence for Goujon's stay in Italy from his own words at the close of the description of the Corinthian capital; "On my part, I am well assured, that these capitals are measured correctly. "

We now pass to the second source, which should demonstrate the sojourn of Goujon in Italy:-- to the influence exerted upon him by the art works there, when the middle doors of the Church S. Maclou at Rouen are first to be mentioned, and which exhibit assured characteristics of the presence of Goujon in the native land of the Renaissance. In the medallion representing the Baptism of Christ, not merely the composition, but also the pose of the Baptist and of Christ are without doubt directly taken from the group of Sansovino on the Baptistery at Florence. Even more. The treatment of the body of the Saviour, especially of the legs, even the texture of the flesh, which is so extremely peculiar and characteristic in this work of Sansovino, is reproduced in such an unequalled manner in wood in the medallion referred to, that this could not have occurred to such a degree by means of a drawing, but at most only by a photograph. It is not to be assumed, that casts of such works were then brought to France, so that in this art work must be seen a reliable proof, that Goujon was in Florence and studied most accurately the Christ of Sansovino. But on the contrary, the treatment of the trees and of the angel soaring in the air in the same medallion, the motive of the niches with figures in the borders of the leaves of the door, the small angels' heads in clouds directly recall the famous gates of paradise by Ghiberti; perhaps even the peculiarity, that in the mouldings enclosing the borders, dentils play the dominating part should perhaps indicate Ghiberti's moulding on the Urn of S. Zanobi in the Cathedral at Florence.

But Raphael's influence is not to be neglected. On the left

hand wind of the door mentioned, the figures of doctors standing beside each other on the left beneath the medallion are strongly influenced by the figures of Plato and of Aristotle in the School of Athens; likewise the upper seated woman holding the tables of the law, which recalls Raphael's Sibyls in the Pace at Rome. One of these figures to be found in the B Burial on the former roodloft of the Church S. Germain l'Auxerrois, the Burial by Raphael appears to have suggested.

On the middle door of the Church at S. Maclou, the head of Moses is apparently inspired by one created by Michelangelo for the Tomb of Julius II. Likewise is shown the influence of the Italian masters mentioned, even if with a different interpretation, in an unequivocal way in the figure of the evangelist Luke in so far as concerns the abrupt bending of the right hand, which Michelangelo himself borrowed from Donatello and employed on the wrist of his David in Florence. This apparently entirely unimportant detail is a proof, that Jean Goujon must himself have been in Florence.

By a more careful comparison must be found other recollections of figures of Michelangelo and of other masters, which like those described, prove that Goujon must have remained in Italy for a considerable time.

140. Art Works.

The earliest work of Goujon is the Tomb of Louis Da Breze at Rouen, begun in 1535. His authorship of that has not yet been proved by documents; but a number of reasons make it necessary to recognize this opinion prevailing in Rouen.

In the year 1540 Goujon made the design for a fountain and one for a portal to the Cathedral in Rouen.²⁸⁶ He was designated in 1541 as stonecutter and mason, and then executed the head of Cardinal George II of Amboise, as well as the two columns under the organ loft in Church S. Maclou at Rouen. Darcel further writes, that the similarity of these columns to those of the Tomb mentioned has been emphasized, and he thinks, that those, who have seen the nymphs on the Fountain of Innocents, will admit, that certain portions of the doors on Church S. Martin must evidently be by Goujon. To the same year likewise belong two designs for a ciborium for this church.

Note 286. See Darcel in Rouyer's *L'Art Architectural en France*. Vol. 1. p. 24. Paris. 1866.

Goujon worked with Pierre Lescot as carver of images on the destroyed roodloft in church S. Germain l'Auxerrois at Paris,²⁸⁷ begun in 1541, and on May 17, 1542, on account of hearing the Lutheran sermon of Geoffroy le Blanc, he was sentenced to do penance publicly in his shirt and barefooted, and to be present at the burning of the latter on Place Maubert at Paris.²⁸⁸ Before 1547 he executed the works for the Chateau at Ecouen, built for the Constable Anne de Montmorency, and he was busied in Paris on the Hotel begun in 1544, now Hotel Car-na-valet. As previously stated, Goujon was designated in 1547 in Martin's Vitruvius as former architect of the Constable and then architect of the king (whose service he entered at the end of March), and he composed an illustrated Commentary on this Vitruvius.

Note 287. Goujon's name first occurs in his contract of May 18, 1544; the lost registration extends from Jan. 9, 1545. Before him, two sculptors of the school of Fontainebleau worked here; Symon Le Roy and Lorenzo Noldini (Laurent Reynaldini; see Laborde, *L. de. Comptes des Batiments du Roi*. Vol. 2. p. 282. Paris. 1877.).

Note 288. See Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Francaise. p. 27. 1893.

Goujon was employed in 1547-1549 on the sculptures on the Fountain of Innocents at Paris, and on Sept. 5, 1550, he closed the contract for the four Caryatids in the Louvre. In the year 1553 falls his work on the Chateau at Anet, and on May 17, 1561, he received by the arrangement of Pierre Lescot, the substitute of Goujon, 23 livres for works in sculpture on the Louvre. Goujon fled to Italy in 1562 on account of his religious faith.²⁸⁹ At all events he yet spent the year 1564 in Bologna; in the trial of the Frenchman Penis by the Inquisition (Dec. 9, 1568), he is already designated as dead.²⁹⁰ The name of Jean Goujon disappears from the accounts of the Louvre directly after the order for payment of Sept. 6, 1562, for which the reason is unknown.²⁹¹ Until the year 1884, when it was made known that he lived in Bologna in 1564, it was assumed that he perished in the night of S. Bartholemew (1562).

Note 289. See Gazette des Beaux Arts. Vol. 30 (1884). p. 377; Vol. 31 (1885), p. 5; further, Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Francaise. 1886. p. 376.

Note 290. Berty makes prominent the peculiar coincidence of this disappearance with the circumstance, that an account of his heretical faith, Jean Goujon, a worker in wood, was beheaded in the same year in Troyes. -- A de Montaiglon raises the question (in *Archives de l'art français*. Series II. V. Vola 2. p. 392) in reference to certain works executed in 1566 in Anet, whether there was not a second sculptor of this name, and he states (same work, series I, Vol. 6, p. 311), that in the registers of the Chœur of Ecouen Goujons occur, who have nothing in common with the famous master.

Note 291. The glass windows of the Chapel date from the year 1544 and the wooden wainscoting from 1548, -- both now to be found in the Chapel at Chantilly.

On the altar in the chapel of the Chateau at Ecouen (Fig. 187), now to be found in that at Chantilly, sculpture, ornament, and architecture form such an inseparable composition, that it is impossible to believe in the cooperation of two individuals, an architect and a sculptor; much rather must one assume the creation by a single master, who was both sculptor and architect. Since this sculptor was Jean Goujon with entire certainty, we also with absolute certainty stand before an architectural creation of the same master. On the lower half of the altar are the forms freer, and the capitals, there are indeed unique for that period in France; they are likewise influenced by the bizarre outlines of Michelangelo. Goujon developed on the upper half of the altar the Doric order again in richer, yet more severe forms, and the enclosure of his Sacrifice of Isaac is one of the most beautiful conceivable examples of the severest and at the same time richest ornamentation of the period of the high Renaissance.

Men were indeed at first inclined to the belief, that the upper half of the altar was due to Jean Bullant, the supposed chief architect of Ecouen; yet by repeated and thorough investigations at the locality, I am convinced of the untenability of this first impression. The rich enclosure mentioned, whose style of ornamentation is allied to the magnificent windows in Lescot's court of the Louvre (Fig. 316), on which it is known that Goujon also worked without Bullant, leads to regarding the parts mentioned as examples of the style tendency of Jean Goujon.

The altar in question was completed before 1547, thus before the commencement of the court of the Louvre; for on it only occurs the baronial coronet of the constable.²⁹¹ The remains of the sculptures of the rood loft of S. Germain l'Auxerrois (1541), now in the Louvre, entirely exhibit the style of figures on the altar at Ecouen.

The repeatedly mentioned circumstance, that Jean Goujon was at first architect of the Constable de Montmorency, thus was also of Ecouen and became architect of the king, and the style likewise permits me to designate the same master as the creator of the magnificent organ loft in the same chapel of the Chateau at Ecouen, as well as of a triforium-like structure built in the round arches of a gallery in this chapel. The character of this woodwork is tolerably different from the style of Bullant, is somewhat lighter, more elegant and animated. The torus bands and the other ornamentation on the enclosure of the balustrade of the loft indicate the author of the doors at S. Maclou and those of the Chateau at Anet, of the altar and of the windows in the court of the Louvre, while the refined and animated treatment of the clearly alternating two motives of the frieze recalls the creator of the Tomb of Breze at Rouen.

Undoubtedly by the master of the altar and by the creator of the organ loft, thus by Goujon, if not the entire paneling of the chapel at Ecouen (now likewise to be found in the chapel at Chantilly) is at least that part of the same, which forms a wardrobe and contains a wonderful door. With its two Doric orders in three bays, with the pedestals shaped like consoles, with the noble treatment of forms and the beautiful relief of the ornamental panels, with the masterly mouldings, together with the warm color of the wood (chiefly Courbary wood), this wardrobe door belongs to the most beautiful creations of this kind.

From the same master, who designed this wardrobe, comes likewise all the dormer windows on the left wing of the court in the Chateau at Ecouen, perhaps also the first five dormer windows of the right wing there, though these are certainly somewhat later.

141. Style.

The peculiarities, which apparently characterize Goujon as

architect, must be a striking clearness and intelligibility of composition and of its motives; noble and charming proportions in the later and real magic in the development of the ornament and its technical perfection; in the friezes a preference for the alternation of two clearly distinguishable, but beautifully connected motives; mastery in the composition of ornaments, both in the character of simple northern natural elements, as well as in the richer style of antique ornaments, torus bands, frets, etc. It is striking, that some of his female figures recall in the treatment and the clothing the later figures of the Empire style.

In the earlier works of Goujon is predominant the influence of the Raphael-ghiberti ideal, joined with a noble and simple northern naturalness in the spirit of Colombe. Later may be recognized in his female figures the fashion of elongated form of the body, as with Salviati, Vasari, Bronzino, Primaticcio and Cellini. On several of his architectural works, which on the whole are designed in severe forms, occur some details, which may be referred to certain bizarre elements, which are to be found in certain creations of Michelangelo. As already indicated, these are already found on the earliest works of Goujon, on the Tomb of Breze at Rouen, also likewise on the second door of Church S. Maclou at Rouen, but especially in the capitals of the middle doorway in the court of the Chateau at Ecouen and on the small capitals of the pilasters of the altar table in the chapel there.

Equally surprising and apparently earlier are the four powerful and slender caryatids of the portico in the former lower hall of guards in the Louvre, chiefly on account of the combination of antique dignity with modern womanliness and monumental earnestness with French grace. The style in the figures on the already mentioned Fountain of Nymphs is much more refined, personally more characteristic and also more French, consequently less Italian and less recalling Raphael and Michelangelo, than in the roodloft of S. Germain l'Auxerrois. 292

Note 292. The sculptures are now to be found in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris.

The profiles chiefly employed by Goujon are designed in the

style of the last manner of Bramante, thus for example, like those of the marble windows in the Loggia of Raphael. They are also striking on account of the refined and firm connection of the members with each other. Thereby is produced in the profiles in places the character of a bronze casting or of a firmly compressed material, a peculiarity likewise to be found on the pedestals of the columns in Church S. Maclou, and similarly occasionally on the Fountain of Nymphs, in the court of the Louvre and in Hotel Carnavalet, three works on which Goujon was busied together with Pierre Lescot.

If the elevation of the Tomb of Breze at Rouen be compared with the main portal of the Chateau at Anet (Fig. 317), which is adorned by sculptures by Goujon, and which Henry II had built by De l'Orme for the widow of Breze, it will at once be found, that between the upper stories of the portal and of the Tomb exists a great likeness in composition, and the same similarity recurs on the two lower stories of the portal of the Chateau at Ecouen (Fig. 315). Goth portals originated later than the Tomb at Rouen, and we again see at both Chateaus Jean Goujon employed together with the architect of each. (De l'Orme and Bullant). If the first analogy was caused by the wish of Diana of Poitiers, who desired to emphasize in this manner the remembrance of her husband, that could otherwise be made in Anet in sarcophagus form, or if the portal at Anet must be a kind of imitation of that at Ecouen and a work of Goujon, to all appearance one here find a direct influence of this master upon Philibert De l'Orme, which must have never yet been made prominent.²⁹³ Goujon will be again returned to in treating of the four other great masters.

Note 293. For more minute statements concerning the payments for Goujon's works in the court of the Louvre, see Laborde, *L. Les comptes des Batiments du Roi, 1528-1571. Vols. 1 and 2. Paris. 1887, 1880.* -- For representations of his works, see Pottier, *A. L'Oeuvre de J. Goujon. Paris. 1844.*

142. Figures for Vitruvius.

For the frequently mentioned Martin's translation of Vitruvius, Goujon designed the figures and explained them in an address to the reader.

Among these illustrations are prominent:--

1. The caryatid columns (Plate 2) and the Persian columns, whose female and male figures exhibit a likeness to the caryatids of Goujon in the Louvre and to certain of his male figures on the older door of Church Maclou at Rouen.

2. The entablatures (Plates 2, 40 and 45) show the master as excellent in profiling.

3. The beautiful old men on the frieze of Plate 45 show the same spirit as those on the upper frieze of the Monument of Breze at Rouen.

4. In the Doric entablature and in the pediment of Plate 52 are to be found much similarity to the altar in the Church at Ecoen.

5. The wide projection and the rise of the attic base of the Doric order in Plate 35 are exactly the same as on the altar at Ecoen.

6. The form of the volutes of the Corinthian capital (Pls. 35, 44, 49 and 51), which are too narrow beneath and are merely bordered by a little round externally, like those on the Tomb of Breze and in the chapel of S. Romain at Rouen.

At least 45 illustrations are taken from the edition of Vitruvius by Fra Giocondo and Cesariano, and the perspective scenes on Plates 77 and 78 are given after Serlio.

6. Pierre Lescot.

143. Pierre Lescot.

Pierre Lescot, lord of Clagny, 1510(?)–1573, probably born in Paris,²⁹⁴ is a peculiar and not easily explained phenomenon. It is desired to know more of his training and works, in order to see how his style was formed and developed to be so great. Aside from his roodloft in Church S. Germain l'Auxerrois at Paris and the Hotel de Ligneris there, one stands before a kind of completed Pallas Athene, as soon as he meets us directly with his Louvre building, grand and rich and still noble, clear and distinguished. His Fountain of Innocents belongs to a later period. As Berty remarks, Lescot appears to have built little and to have less sought the opportunity to build, whether he felt himself sufficiently rich, or whether his high office hindered him from it.

Note 294. Lescot belonged to a family of the nobility of the robe (noblesse de robe), and he was the holder of the fi-

fiefs of La Grange de Marteroy and of Clagny, not far from Paris. Since he was likewise an abbot, he was often erroneously called Abbe de Clagny. His father was Pierre Lescot (of L'Ecossais, and old Paris family), master of Eissy in Brie; his mother was Anne Daubet, who possessed a mansion in Paris and the fief of Clagny near Paris. (See Berty. p. 64 et seq).

The most, that we know of his life, is based on a poem of Ronsard. According to this, following his early inclination to drawing, he first learned painting and after his twentieth year also geometry, mathematics and architecture; his wealth increased. Francis I loved him above all others, and Henry II wished only to listen to him, even at dinner and supper. Henry II said, that Lescot only learned from himself and therefore bore away the prize from all others; therefore he bestowed on him the order to enrich his Louvre by a larger structure.²⁹⁵ But that Lescot likewise studied in Italy was demonstrated in the preceding for the first time, and indeed in the passage (Art. 139), where the same evidence is produced for Goujon.

Note 295. See Les Oeuvres de P. Ronsard etc. Reprint. Paris. 1609. p. 985. (also Berty. p. 68).

A. de Montaignon assumes that Lescot called Jean Goujon to the building of the Louvre, and he asks the question, when and where did the two become acquainted? At their roodloft? The Fountain of Innocents at Paris is the proof of their complete and confidential cooperation, which is manifestly based on their thorough community of feeling and of taste. Here, as in the Louvre, architecture and sculpture are so inextricably combined, that they must have been designed and executed at the same time. Even the sculptures executed on the Louvre after Goujon went away appear, as Montaignon says, to have been created after his designs.²⁹⁶

Note 296. See Gazette des Beaux Arts. Vol. 31. p. 6.

144. Relations to Goujon and to the building of the Louvre.

The question may further be asked, as Martin indeed does in the dedication to his frequently mentioned Vitruvius, that appeared soon after the accession of Henry II, whether Goujon can be designated as one of the king's architects, and for what reason Goujon is mentioned in the certainly incomplete

payments as sculptor in stone for the king, and why in all payments made to him is added "ordered by the lord of Clagny (Lescot) for works in sculpture executed by him"? Do these facts actually correspond to the relations of the two masters to each other and to the functions performed by each of them, or was this position merely an official pretense, behind which was concealed a different relation to Goujon, previously sentenced as a Lutheran? Was Lescot not only an excellent friend but also his pupil in the domain of architecture? If Ronsard's statement is correct, that Lescot commenced the study of architecture at 20 years, then since Lescot was only born in 1515, this beginning falls in the year 1535, thus at a time when Goujon had already designed the Tomb of Breze at Rouen as a perfect master. Did Lescot partly receive from Goujon that thorough knowledge of Vitruvius, to which Goujon calls attention, when he says that previous to Serlio's work in France, one could not acquire it there, not even in Italy? The latter circumstance permits me to assume that Goujon and Lescot himself studied in Italy.

In case Lescot himself had not been in Italy, it must necessarily be assumed that in the building of the Louvre, Goujon not only created the figures, but cooperated for all ornaments, the mouldings, and in the practical execution, for all these necessarily assume that the style-giving master had studied the Italian works on the spot. Many hold Goujon to be the real architect of the court of the Louvre; after long hesitation, I do not feel myself justified to take this step.

If Goujon himself only mentions the names of two French architects in the most important passage of his introduction to Martin's Vitruvius, Pierre Lescot and Philibert De l'Orme, so that it is thereby sufficiently shown, that Lescot was an architect in the fullest sense of the word, even if his position at court did not permit him to personally superintend the execution of the building. In this sense should the mouldings in the court of the Louvre speak for themselves. Aside from many similarities to those of Goujon, they appear, especially in the ground story, occasionally less certain in proportions, also less warm and animated in design, than those made most prominent by Goujon.

Everything said should nevertheless in nowise lessen the deserts of Lescot. For even if directly inspired by Italian works, the details everywhere exhibit the individual style in design of its French author. The characteristic of its style tendency was later developed, incidental to the representation of the court of the Louvre. The Louvre is not only the noblest architectural work of the Renaissance in France, but is likewise one of the most beautiful of the new architectural style in general.

In the three copies of the inscription on Lescot's Tomb, with the same year of his death, his age is given differently three times; therefore it is uncertain, whether he was born in 1500, 1510 or 1515; it was most probably in 1510. In the years 1541-1545 he superintended the construction of the roodloft in Church S. Germain l'Auxerrois at Paris, destroyed in 1745, when too little attention was paid to Goujon's cooperation, that began only in 1544. (See the description of this roodloft found by L. de Laborde.²⁹⁷

Note 297. See Berty. p. 71; further, *Memoires et Dissertations*. Paris. 1852. p. 302; also *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. Vol. 30. p. 387; lastly, Laborde, L. de. *Comptes des Batiments du Roi*. Paris. 1877-1880. Vol. 1. p. 25; Vol. 2. p. 282.

On Aug. 3, 1546, Lescot was appointed architect of the rebuilding of the Louvre. He worked in 1547-1549 on the execution of the Fountain of Nymphs or of Innocents at Paris, which is treated as a loggia and likewise received sculptures by Goujon. In the year 1544 apparently falls the beginning of Hotel de Ligneris, now Hotel Carnavalet, at Paris.²⁹⁸

Note 298. According to others, Hotel of Jacques de Ligneris, president of the parliament, was erected by Jean Goujon and Jean Bullant after drawings by Lescot. (See Proth, M. Jean Goujon. Paris. 1883.

On Aug. 7, 1556, Lescot announced to the chapter of canons of Notre Dame, that on account of public service, he was soon after to be sent to Rome, and that by his office he should meet the king daily.²⁹⁹

Note 299. According to *Registres Capitulaires de Notre Dame*. Archives Nationales. II. 252. p. 222, 223. (See Berty. p. 70).

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c. Jean Bullant.

145. Course of Life.

Jean Bullant, born about 1525 (?), appears to have come from Ecouen, and was probably related to, yet scarcely identical with another Jean Bullant, who in 1532 was mason of the Cathedral at Amiens and was city architect there in 1565, 1568 and 1574. According to his own statement he was in Italy to study the antique monuments there. In the dedication of his second book addressed to the duke de Montmorenci in 1564, he says, that the Constable always employed him and engaged him for the works on his Chateau at Ecouen. The latter place was his usual residence, and upon the chateau there, ascribed to him, is founded his fame.

In the year 1557, he occupied the important position of a comptroller of the buildings of the crown, but he was compelled by Philibert de l'Orme to relinquish half his salary in favor of his brother Jean. After the death of Henry II, Bullant and de l'Orme lost their places at the same time; yet a after the death of Primaticcio, the former received his office again in 1570 and still held it in 1575. Little is known concerning his work between 1559 and 1570. During this period falls the publication of his literary works;³⁰⁰ on the first of these he bears the title of architect of the duke de Montmorency. In contrast with de l'Orme, Bullant unfortunately speaks in his works too rarely of himself and only with great modesty.

Note 300. Recueil d'Horologéographie, etc. Paris. 1561.; the second part forms the introduction and is called:-- Petit Traicté de Geometrie et d'Horologéographie Pratique. #562. -- His principal work bears the title:-- Règle générale d'Architecture des cinq Manieres de Colonnes -- enrichie de plusieurs autres, a l'exemple de l'Antique; Veu, recorrege et ougmente par l'Auteur de cinq Ordres de colonnes suivant les regles et doctrines de Vitruve -- a Ecouen par Jehan Bullant. Paris. 1564 and 1568.

During the last 8 years of his life, he was very busy. After the death of de l'Orme, he became architect of the queen-mother in the Tuileries and in the Chateau at S. Maur. He was soon afterwards required to erect for Catherine the Hotel

de Soissons in Paris. As Primaticcio also died in 1570, Bullant again became comptroller of the royal buildings, and he was entrusted with the supervision of the works in Fontainebleau³⁰¹ and on the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis. He died while still residing in Ecouen on Oct. 10, 1578, one month after Pierre Lescot. In speaking of the columnar orders, Bullant will again be mentioned later.³⁰²

Note 301. From the similarity, which the Doric order in the second story with the doubled flight of steps in the court des Fontaines at Fontainebleau on the one hand, exhibits to those on the Chateau at Ecouen on the right and left of the loggia behind the terrace, Bullant must have undertaken the rebuilding of this story at Fontainebleau.

Note 302. Mention should be made of the works of A. de Montaignon in Archives de l'Art Français, Series I, Vol. 5. (Jean Bullant et les Tuileries) and Vol. 6 (p. 305); (J. Bullant et Jean Goujon), as well as Series II, Vol. 2. (Les deux Bullant).

146. Chateau at Ecouen.

That Jean Bullant has heretofore been generally regarded as the builder and sole architect of the Chateau at Ecouen is based on the title of "Architect of Monseigneur de Montmorency, Constable of France," which he adds on the title page of his work of 1561, and upon a passage in the already considered dedication, which precedes his work of 1564.³⁰³ Palustre first hit on the idea of attributing the older portion of the Chateau to a master Billard. The words in the above mentioned dedication, which are given below, do not appear in any way to state, that Bullant constructed the chateau from the beginning, indeed not even that he was there at the commencement of the building; rather must the result therefrom be, that he began to work there and from that time had remained at work there. Even the title mentioned, which he bore in 1561, does not justify the assumption, that in 1542 or even in 1538 he filled the office in question. Rather must it be remembered, that as already stated in Art. 139, Jean Martin already in the year 1547 designated Jean Goujon as "the late Architect of Monsignor the Constable", and the correctness of this statement can scarcely be doubtful.

Note 303. "Monsignor, after so little solicitude required for the works ordered from me by Monsignor the Constable, who has always employed and retained me on the works of his Chateau of Ecouen, so that I might not consume myself in idleness, and further that most of the time I remained without other occupation, I busied myself in reducing -- five manner of columns, according to the precepts of Vitruvius".

The idea that a single master built that chateau between 1531 and about 1564, there passing through all phases of the development of the style in question, might indeed be assumed, if certain characteristic peculiarities of the last master, Jean Bullant, also occurred in the earlier periods. But this does not appear to be the case in the earliest epoch; the mouldings of this exhibit an entirely different artistic design; they rather indicate Jean Goujon.³⁰⁴

Note 304. On the conjecture of Palustre (see his "La Renaissance en France (Paris. 1886-1890), vol. 1. p. 211, 225, 232, and Vol. 2. p. 50, 294, 305), that a Billard or Baillard, master mason of Monsignor the Constable, built the older portions of the chateau at Ecouen, L. Magne remarks, that the Constable then had yet other works under construction:-- the Chateau at Chantilly, a Hotel at Compiègne, the new Hotel at Paris, Rue Sainte-Avoye; Billard might perhaps have been employed on these without having been likewise engaged at Ecouen. It is proved that Goujon was at the latter. In the "Accounts of the Buildings of the King", he is frequently and perhaps correctly called Villart. We find him therein in 1548-1550, thus after the employment of Goujon at Ecouen. Since he still bore the same title in 1550, it may be questioned, whether he might also have played an important part there before Goujon.

The different parts of the Chateau are divided among four building periods or groups.

1. The three wings around the court, excepting the four later gateways, porticos and the dormer windows, about 1530.
2. The dormer windows.
3. The various works described in the preceding Art. as by Jean Goujon, -- about 1535-1545, according to the style.
4. The two gateways, the portico behind the terrace (Figs.

1947. 6.10.44. The low altitude landing of the 100th Airborne Division on the small town, all houses and buildings by then destroyed.

The development of the aerial assault was very much easier than it had been in the past. The first of these was the use of the new type of the light tank, and the use of the new type of the light tank, and the use of the new type of the light tank.

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(Figs. 319-321), and the adjacent facing of the facade between the small round towers, all designed and executed by Jean Bullant.

The development of the architectural style may be most easily followed on the dormer windows. The oldest of these are found on the outer facade of the middle wing, and they belong to about the same time as the external dormer windows of the wing on the left side (the chapel). These are followed in the series by the dormer windows of the middle wing and by one on the right wing, then those of the wing on the left hand, and finally the five windows of the wing on the right side. Much later and by Jean Bullant are the external dormer windows of the wing on the right hand (beyond the terrace).

In many peculiarities, for example in the treatment of the Doric order on the gateways by Bullant and on the altar by G. Goujon, appear analogies between these two masters, that may be explained by the influence undoubtedly exerted on Bullant by Goujon. This influence is the more conceivable, if as some assume, Bullant was actually the pupil of Goujon in the domain of sculpture. Bullant's most important work in sculpture was then the magnificent mausoleum in the Church at Montmorency,³⁰⁵ which the widow ordered of Bullant after the death of the Constable on Nov. 10, 1567,³⁰⁶ and which was destroyed in 1792. The "Topographie de France" in the Cabinet of copperplate engravings at Paris unfortunately no views of it.

Note 305. See Proth, M. Jean Goujon. Paris. 1888. p.14.

Note 306. See Magne, L. Les Vitraux de Montmorency et d'Ecrouen etc. p. 17. Paris. 1888.

For the three portal additions, Magne might assume the date of about 1564 or the last years of the reign of Henry II, the latter with reference to the emblems executed thereon (Fig. 321), that Palustre indeed sooner refers to Catharine. Perhaps they were evoked by the portal structures in the court of the Louvre, in order to lend to the otherwise rather bare court something of the appearance of the never erected, but more classic antique style.

The thought is easily understood, which Magne³⁰⁷ expressed, that of believing that Bullant only took up later the rule and doctrine of Vitruvius. In the portal structures considered,

he was able to give the Constable proofs of his classical knowledge, when by means of this addition he completed the facades of the Chateau in the Italian fashion. One might actually believe, that the influence of Italian art on Bullant only occurred relatively late, i.e., that he did not return from Italy before the building of the chateau, but that perhaps he first went to Italy in the beginning of the forties (1540), possibly while Jean Goujon supervised the building.

Note 307. See Magne. p. 13.

Two points appear to show, that Bullant had not already between 1510 and 1515 seen the light of the world, like the masters of the group in question, but later.

1. The character of his orders of columns and their ornaments. They are made rather more antique than those of his contemporaries, perhaps because he went to Italy later than they did, perhaps also because the more developed high Renaissance gave him a more objective conception of antique works.

2. Bullant's wife, Francoise Richault, had borne him nine children between June 25, 1556, and Sept. 20, 1575, and he himself died only three years later (1578).³⁰⁸ It must be concluded from this, that Bullant was not yet 41 years old in the year 1556. The assumption, that he was born in 1515, appears to be based on the otherwise erroneous belief, that the building of the Chateau at Ecouen was first begun in 1541, and that Bullant was the master of the building from the beginning of the works; yet the latter continually becomes more improbable. His birth must rather be about 1525, for otherwise Goujon in the year 1547 would indeed have mentioned besides Lescot and De l'Orme also Bullant, if the latter had then superintended such an important construction as that of the Chateau at Ecouen, on which Goujon himself was already employed.

Note 308. See Archives de l'Art Francais. 1860. p. 305.

Magne assumes,³⁰⁹ that the building of the Chateau at Ecouen, excepting the three later portal structures, yet including the gallery leading to the Church in the village, was begun immediately after the end of the war and was executed between 1538 and 1545. He is of opinion that Palustre errs, when he computes the duration of the erection at 25 years; the

glass windows bear the dates of 1542 and 1544, the construction can scarcely have occupied more than 5 or 6 years, and it would be difficult to place the beginning of the works before 1538, previous to the campaigns in Provence, in Picardy and in Italy. The choir of the Church was erected at the same time.

Note 309. Magne. p. 12.

From its style, we might place the building very near the year 1530. In that year Guillaume de Montmorency completed the buildings in Chantilly; he died in 1531, and his son Aune inherited his vast estate, so that the latter must have commenced the building directly or soon afterwards.

147. Character of the Monuments.

Some illustrations in Bullant's "Reigle generale d'Architecture", although only inserted as woodcuts, show a very fine and also firm and elastic drawing and outlining, as for example, the Ionic capital "according to the doctrine of Vitruvius". In the same way, the drawing of three Corinthian columns on the Palatine at Rome has especially beautiful volutes and stems, as well as beautifully curved modillions and ornaments on the architrave. Accordingly Bullant was a draftsman qualified to place especial beauty in the lines of ornaments. In the profiles on the small Chateau at Chantilly, Bullant is to be mistaken for none of his contemporaries. These exhibit the very peculiar charm of a stronger and firmer treatment of certain members and at the same time of an extraordinary delicacy in the manner in which certain members project beyond others. The especially sharp prominence of the deges and of the plane surfaces permits the curved ones to appear animated by a beautifully swelling fullness. The members of the cornice sculptured with ornaments are grouped with plain ones, so that the design of the former appears clearer and more effective, that of the plain members still plainer and firmer. Hence more than with any of his contemporaries, Bullant's ornaments and the foliage of his capitals possess something of the impersonal and yet animated beauty of the antique.³¹⁰

Note 310. Bullant complains of their poor quality and later engraved a number of plates on copper himself, among them two capitals bearing his name and the date of 1566. (Prints

from them are to be found in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris). He gives their description in part. (See Archives de l'Art Francois. Vol. 8. p. 324.

On the Chateau at Ecouen, the Corinthian capitals of the colossal order (Fig. 310) certainly do not show an entirely graceful treatment of the leaves. The Doric capitals are shaped after those of the court of the Cancellaria at Rome and those of the antique building engraved by A. Labacco, which pleased Bramante so much, and they are transferred to pilasters; in part they appear to be affected by the treatment of Goujon.

148. Mode of Composition.

But Bullant is frequently less happy in the general subdivision of his buildings. On the little Chateau at Chantilly (Figs. 117, 318, 336), the proportions of the order, the delicacy of its design and of its relief are of unique beauty, as well as the design and proportions of its windows, when viewed diagonally. But the latter are too large for the order, and the general effect is entirely unsatisfactory; they neither form a second story, nor are they proper dormer windows, and they intersect the entablature in an ugly manner. Very beautiful, especially under a good light, is the arched gateway (by the baronial coronet not later than 1547 or 1550), by its style contemporary with or somewhat later than the court of the Louvre.

The entrance into the viaduct-gallery at Fere-en-Tardenois (Fig. 107) and the side elevation of the latter exhibit the same tendency in composition. Yet this work of Bullant is in the highest degree interesting and effective, especially in its simpler though powerful treatment of the piers and the arch.³¹¹

Note 311. Anne de Montmorency received on the occasion of his marriage on Jan. 10, 1527, to Madeleine de Savoy, niece of the mother of the king, the lordship of Fere-en-tardenois as a wedding gift from the king; Bullant's gallery structure belongs to a later period.

Also it cannot be denied, that the two portal structures and the loggia of the Chateau at Ecouen (Figs. 319-321) are in composition not entirely free from the labored and the for-

forced; they exhibit a rather disturbing combination of openings, whose very different sizes are not always sufficiently intelligible, in spite of their connection with the stairway behind them. Aside from this unsatisfactory part, these compositions vividly arouse the interest of the architect, for vulgarity is far from them.

Do the labored forms on the portals at Ecouen and the illogical ideas of the composition on the little Chateau at Chantilly result from a want of feeling for the general harmony with the chosen arrangement? This may remain undecided. Bullant expresses the conviction everywhere, that none of the newly invented columnar orders deserves so much consideration in majesty, in arrangement of members, in harmony and accord, as the five orders of the ancients, and he appears to take position in this matter against the French order of Philibert De l'Orme.³¹²

Note 312. See the succeeding Art. and also the later description of the columnar orders.

The defect mentioned neither occurs on the altar at Ecouen, nor on the former entrance portal there (Fig. 315); just as little in the generally happy grouping of the masses on the Chateau at Ecouen, -- one reason more for not entirely rejecting the possibility, that the latter comes from another master.

d. Philibert De l'Orme.

149. Writings and Inventions.

Another of the five most prominent architects of the French high Renaissance is Philibert de l'Orme, already frequently mentioned, who beheld the light of the world between 1510 and 1515³¹³ and died on Jan. 8, 1570. Although by most professionals, he is placed with Lescot at the apex of the architects of the high Renaissance, there yet appears in two points the greatest contrast between the latter and De l'Orme. In the group of the five masters, he is the one, who apparently displayed the greatest activity in architecture, and concerning whom we possess the most numerous statements. Like Lescot's name with the Louvre, so is that of De l'Orme inseparably connected with Palace Tuileries. The second source of his fame is formed by his literary works, at the same time also the chief source of the statements concerning his works.

Note 313. According to his book on "Architecture" (Book IV, p. 90 v), De l'Orme returned from Italy in 1536; he was already in Rome in 1533. (Same, p. 197). In other passages of the same work (Book V, Chap. 17; then see p. 162 v, 147 v), on which he wrote for 6 years, he speaks of his sojourn in Italy, as if it had occurred 30 years previously. If likewise by his own statement, he already had in his 15 th year 300 workers under himself, then is this to be understood as rather a supervision, than as a technical employment in the higher sense of the word. He would hardly go to Italy before his 18 th to 20 th year, so that the year of his birth is not later than 1515, but perhaps is in 1512. Therefore he would be 24 y years old, when he entered the service of Paul III and began to build in Lyons; one would scarcely assume that he was then materially younger.

The two most important books written by De l'Orme bear the titles:-- "Nouvelles Inventions pour bien bastir et a petit frais" etc. (Paris. 1561) and "Le premier Tome de l'architecture de Philibert De l'Orme". (Paris. 1567).³¹⁴ The work first mentioned was occasioned by the invention of De l'Orme for constructing roofs of great span by means of timbers framed together, and it was written by command of Henry II. The second book was unique in its way in France and was to form a general work on architecture, together with the second volume, that unfortunately never appeared, in the manner of the similar writings of Vitruvius and of Alberti. Most valuable therein are the two books on stonecutting, which for a century formed the best and almost the only treatise on this subject.

Note 314. A new edition of this book with facsimile illustrations is soon (1894) to be brought out by C. Nizet.

A third writing by De l'Orme is the memorial essay discovered by Delisle in 1861, in which he defends himself against the accusation produced by the disfavor experienced by him in 1559, and which affords many interesting conclusions concerning his works and the course of his life. It was published by Berty.³¹⁵

Note 315. In *Les Grands Architectes Français de la Renaissance* etc. Paris. 1860. p. 47-49. -- This memorial will hereafter be referred to as "Memoir of Philibert de l'Orme".

150. Sojourn in Italy.

Philibert de l'Orme himself states, how exceedingly young he was, when he came to Rome and drew the antique monuments there with the assistance of ladders, ropes, excavations and laborers, to whom he daily gave 2 "Giuli". By these works he became acquainted with the later Pope Marcellus, then still a bishop, as well as with master Vincenzo Rotolano. Both requested him to no longer measure the ruins with the French royal foot, but with the antique Roman palm or with the antique foot, according to which these works were executed. It was principally antique models in the Capitol and many architectural remains in the garden of the deceased Cardinal Gaddi, that De l'Orme drew.

He was so well pleased in Rome, that he entered the service of Pope Paul III and filled an office in the Church, which he calls S. Martin dello Bosco a la Callabre. By the pressure of Monsignor de Lougis, Guillaume du Bellay, and of his brother the Cardinal, he was induced to return to France, where as he says,³¹⁶ "as reward for my good service, so much poverty was caused, and I was accused of several infamies, of which I was later found innocent. they took away from me all that I had earned".

151. Return to France.

The return of De l'Orme to France occurred in 1536, and he also built in the same year at Lyons the House with the two trumpet vaults (Fig. 75). According to Destailleur, he was already called to Paris in 1537 to take up the work in S. Maur-les-Fosses, which he himself designates as epoch-making for the Renaissance.

Under Francis I, De l'Orme had twice yearly to supervise all fortresses on the coast of Brittany. He had at another time to inspect the ships on the coast of Normandy and take charge of provisioning them. Later he had to superintend the building of galleons in Havre-de-Grace, to perform service in designing fortifications during the war, and to occupy the position of a commander several times in besieged cities as captain in chief.³¹⁷

Note 317. See Memoire, p. 51, 58.

Francis I died on March 31, 1547, and with the accession of

Henry II begins the period of De l'Orme's greatest activity in architecture and of his highest royal favor. He appears to have been already in 1549 at the head of all the royal buildings, excepting the Louvre and the Chateau at Monceau-en-Brie, whose construction was begun by Primaticcio in the same year at the command of the queen.

Especial attention should be called to the mission received by De l'Orme in 1548; "to examine how the deceased king was served on his buildings;" for this wording is so very similar to that employed, when De l'Orme was removed from the supervision of the buildings, two days after the death of Henry II and Primaticcio called in his place,³¹⁸ so that one may almost assume such a procedure to have been an administrative custom at every accession to the throne: men have certainly desired to see in that change of persons, that De l'Orme had fallen into disfavor; he also expresses himself in that sense. Since as successor of Philibert De l'Orme -- the "most technical" of the five great architects-- was named an Italian, who was previously only known as a painter, it is then conceivable, that many have thought of injustice and of the capricious favor, which Catherine de Medici showed to her fellow countrymen. Since it will be shown later, that Primaticcio was not merely a painter and a decorator of consequence, but also a distinguished architect, and that he was thus a worthy successor of De l'Orme, the entire occurrence appears in a different light. When Bernard Palissy expresses himself concerning De l'Orme in the manner shown still in the description of the Chateau at Meudon; when one further considers the complacency with which Philibert always speaks of himself and when one finally sees, that Jean Bullant must sacrifice the half of his salary to provide a better position for Philibert's brother Jean,³¹⁹ then will it be easily conceivable, that something might lie in the nature of De l'Orme, that might entirely justify his dismissal then in the eyes of his countrymen. The reasons permitted by himself to appear can scarcely be the only ones, among them being the criticism caused by the failure to understand his new construction of roofs, and the of the new Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye. Yet as results from the following, the lessening of his almost omnipotent position w

was no actual disfavor, at least not a permanent one.

Note 318. 1. April 3, 1548, king Henry II appoints and deputes master Philibert De l'Orme, his architect in ordinary at Fontainebleau, S. Germain-en-Laye, Villiers-Cotterets, Yerre, Bois de Boulogne, to see how the late king was served in his buildings. "For that reason, he says, for the good and entire confidence, that we have in your person, of your sufficient sence, loyalty, and great experience in the art of architecture," etc.

2. July 12, 1559, Francis II (two days after his accession) appointed Francois Primaticcio of Bologna to the superintendency of buildings and dismissed therefrom Philibert De l'Orme, abbot of Ivry and his brother Jean De l'Orme; "Primaticcio is appointed to visit the buildings commenced under Francis I and Henry II, to learn how they had been conducted and managed, and with what care, diligence, and lawfulness our said Lord and Father has been served". (See Destailleur, H. *Notices sur quelques Artistes Francois*. Paris. 1863. p. 4, 9.-- Laborde, L. de. *La Renaissance des Arts at la Cour de France* etc. Paris. 1850. p. 558).

Note 319. Philibert's brother, Jean De l'Orme, was also an architect and frequently had to take the place of the former, as for example, in the inspection of the buildings in Brittany (p. 143). In the year 1552 during the absence of his brother, he was designated as "master Jean De l'Orme, squire, Lord of S. Germain, commissary deputed by the king in the matter of his edifices and buildings," and he received a salary of 600 livres, which was deducted from that of Bullant. In 1552 Jean, as general master of masonry work for the king, was with the French troops in Italy (in Parma, Mirandola, Siena, and in Corsica), in order "to perform service in the matter of the fortifications of strong places". (See Fillon and Montaiglon in *Archives de l'Art Francois*. Paris. 1862. Series II. Vol. 2. p. 314 et seq.). Philibert bequeathed to his brother his architectural books, designs, engravings and drawings, as well as his country house.

Although De l'Orme was the architect of Diana, the rival of the queen, Catherine de Medici did not withdraw her favor from him. She transferred to him the erection of the Tuileries,

whose foundations were laid in May, 1564. In the same year, Catherine had purchased the Chateau at S. Maur-les-Fosses, and De l'Orme had then to enlarge the building formerly executed by him. The queen-mother had various plans and models reserved for herself, which were found in his possession, when Philibert died.

The disfavor of the king does not seem to have reduced De l'Orme's means in any way, that one might conclude from his own words. He possessed two houses in Paris together with other property in Plaisance near Fontenay, and as his will shows,³²⁰ he died as a well to do or even a rich man.

Note 320. See Archives de l'Art Francois. Series II. Vol. 2 (1862). p. 318 et seq.

De l'Orme was successively invested with several abbeys, whose income composed the greatest part of his commissions as architect. These were the Abbeys of Jereton in Brittany, S. Barthelemy-les-Noyon, Yvray and S. Serge d'Angers. On the title page of his "Architecture" he calls himself Counsellor and Almoner of the king and Abbot of S. Serge d'Angers; the revenues of this abbey were leased for 2700 livres. In his "Nouvelles Inventions" on the other hand, he calls himself Abbot of S. Eloy-les-Noyon. As a canon he had a house in the cloister of Notre Dame at Paris.

152. Course of his Life.

In relation to the course of his life and the work of Philibert De l'Orme, the following details may be of interest.

In 1533, he was already in Rome.

In 1536, he returned from Rome to Lyons. He built there the two trumpet vaults in Rue de la Juiverie (Fig. 75). The portal of Church S. Nizier, apparently of about 1542, appears to have been ascribed to him first since 1511. At the same time, he erected in Paris the little Hotel of the banker Patouillet in Rue S. Eloy (Cite).

In 1537 according to Destailleur, or in 1542 according to D'Argenson, he began the building of the Chateau at S. Maur-les-Fosses near Paris.

In 1538, De l'Orme prevented the capture of Brest by the English.³²¹

Note 321. See Memoire. p. 52.

From 1547, he worked on the Tomb of Francis I.

On April 3, 1548, he was appointed architect in ordinary to Henry II for the Chateaus at Fontainebleau, S. Germain-en-Laye, Villers-gotterets, Yerre, Bois de Boulogne (Madrid), likewise for the Chateau of La Muette in Jan. 1549, with the previously mentioned commission to see how Francis I had been served in these buildings.

On April 3, 1548, the rebuilding of the Chateau at S. Leger in the forest of Monfort-l'Amaury was transferred to him, and from this date henceforth, all contracts relating to the building of the Chateaus mentioned were closed by him. Everything now passed through his hands, from the paneling begun in the king's cabinet at Fontainebleau to the fine sculptures on the Tomb of Francis I, and nothing was executed without his supervision.

On Dec. 31, 1550, terminated the contract for building the Chapel of the Goldsmiths' Guild at Paris, the Chapel of the Goldsmiths at S. Eloy (Germain Brice)³²² Rue de deux Portes, which was completed in 1566.

Note 322. Felibien says that this chapel was by Francois de la Flasche and Jean Marchand.

According to Berty, the construction of the Chateau at Anet was begun in 1552, while according to Destailleur, this building approached its completion in the year 1554. But the beginning of the erection of the Chateau at Meudon falls in the year 1553.

On Feb. 3, 1554, Philibert De l'Orme was appointed master architect and conductor general of buildings and edifices, w works and fortifications of the king in his provinces and in the duchy of Brittany, and he received a yearly salary of 500 livres. On June 12 of the same year, he was permitted to allow his brother Jean to represent himself as visitor of strong places, places and chateaus, ports and harbors --- in Brittany, but without any increase of his salary.³²³

Note 323. See Archives de l'Art Francois. Paris. 1862. Series II. Vol. 2. p. 315-317.

In the year 1558 or 1559 falls the building of the refectory for the Abbey on Montmartre, and in the last named year as superintendent of the royal buildings, he reduced by 600 livres

the salary of 1200 livres, which Jean Bullant received as comptroller of the buildings of the crown, diverting this amount to his brother Jean De l'Orme.

153. Work as Architect.

On July 12, 1559, as already state, Philibert De l'Orme was replaced in the superintendency of the royal buildings by Primaticcio, and the erection of the Tuileries was begun in the year 1564.

According to De l'Orme's own statement, his work as an architect was much more extensive, than appears from the preceding dates, and would comprise the following.

In the Chateau at Fontainebleau, there was first by him the great ballroom, "near falling. Did I not fit it up well, both with paneling and with fireplace, masonry, and the addition of paintings? I do not speak of them; master S. Martin (Primaticcio) knows his fame".³²⁴ De l'Orme further created in this chateau the pulpit and the marble column in the chapel, the cabinet of the queen-mother, the cabinet and the apartment of the king in the pavilion near the pool, the great flight of steps in the lower court, and the vestibule leading to the hall of the king.³²⁵

Note 324. See Memoire. p. 54. ---"and admission of the paintings. I say nothing more. M. S. Martin knows his state." Bertz raises the question, whether by this was intended a mild scorn of Primaticcio, who had already replaced him? This does appear to us necessary; it might be the direct opposite if De l'Orme wished to say, that he was the cause that Primaticcio's painting was placed in this hall.

Note 325. The vestibule in the hall of the king. ---"as I wished to make it, and where I constructed the beams of 300 or 400 pieces, which were almost ready, and the roofs over several rooms. But since the workmen did not know how to execute this work (carpentry constructed of beams), they said immediately, that it was worthless, wherein they found themselves in a great error. They should not have so spoken, since they knew not how to proceed and understood nothing of it."

De l'Orme began the erection of the new Chateau at S. Germain; he also had to execute alone various works in the old Chateau there, the decorations on the pulpit in the chapel a

and its wardrobes, the fountains and the bridges of the queen "in consequence of my desire to perform the most humble service for her."

De l'Orme further mentions the works on Chateau La Muette near S. Germain, as well as those at S. Leger in the forest of Montfort, where he put an old residence into good condition, built a new gallery with the chapel and with pavilions, "which were found as beautiful as possible, and that was completed as a very beautiful house".

Among other works, De l'Orme ³²⁶ mentions the Tomb of Francis I, the Chateau S. Leger, the Arsenal and the Magazine (of Artillery) at Paris, the stables of Palace de Tournelles at Paris, the construction of the vaults and the completion of the Chapel in the forest of Vincennes (in the Chateau itself shortly before 1550), ³²⁷ various works (feudal labor) at Foullemberg and Coussy, the beginning of the Hospital of S. Jacques du Hault-pas, a Temple in the park at Villers-Cotterets, many beautiful works in the Chateau at Anet by command of the king, and various unexecuted designs for roofing the ball-court at Monceau. (Mousseau-en-Brie).

Note 326. In Memoire. p. 59.

Note 327. See Berty, A. Les grandes Architectes Francais etc. p. 30. Paris. 1860.

In his "Nouvelles Inventions", De l'Orme also speaks of the following works executed by him in the Chateau La Muette:-- the curved roofs over the staircase pavilion and over the chapel, the roof of great span at the centre, the two last pavilions there on the road from S. Germain to La Muette (the r roofs ?), the roof of the Chateau at Limours for Diana of Poitiers, the latter chateau itself, ³²⁸ and the leaden ornaments over the chapel of the king at Fontainebleau.

Note 328. Nouvelle Inventions etc. Edition of 1626. p. 296: "the carpentry for madam the duchess de Valentinois at her C chateau of Limours, which he had built."

Under Henry II, De l'Orme executed on the Chateau of Madrid the upper stories on those sides on which there was no terracotta, the use of this on the exterior and in combination with masonry did not especially please him, as he writes. ³²⁹

Note 329. In Architecture. Book IX. Chap. 7. p. 268.

The duke de la Tremouille recently found ³³⁰ in the archives of the Chateau at Usez two designs (variations) for its facade, which are signed by Philibert De l'Orme.

Note 330. As M. Lucien Maigne informed me recently.

The chief works of De l'Orme will be further examined later. Meanwhile some things may be said here concerning two of the chateaus built by him:-- the Chateau at S. Maur-les-Fosses, on account of the importance ascribed to this building by De l'Orme himself, and the artistically more important Chateau at Meudon, on which he is entirely silent.

In his Architecture, ³³¹ De l'Orme says on the occasion of the description of the Chateau at S. Maur, "the author brought to France the art of good construction". From this should one believe, that he attributed to himself no small merit in this domain, although the passage mentioned appears to merely treat of a new method for designing the proportions of the Attic base, which he introduced in the construction of the Chateau mentioned. ³³² But in the frequently mentioned Memoire (p. 54), he frankly takes this merit to himself.

Note 331. Foot Note 314.

Note 332. "But such a barbarous fashion was abolished among workmen on account of having found a better way, that I showed them and brought into France more than thirty years since without any glory or boasting."

The Chateau at Meudon (Figs. 239, 344), Philibert De l'Orme built at the command of Cardinal Charles de Lorraine; he took possession of the necessary lands in 1553. ³³³ Likewise by him is the grotto (Figs. 127, 243, 246), which rose at the side of the Chateau, and whose beauty was famous, as a series of writers narrate; yet he does not mention it in his writings. Berty ³³⁴ explains this silence by the mishap, that occurred here according to Palissy's expression of the "God of masons."

Note 333. See Destailleur. p. 7.

Note 334. See Les grandes Architectes Francais etc. Paris. 1860. p. 25.

Palissy writes:-- "I know that there is in our time a French architect, who has almost permitted himself to be called the god of masons or of architects; he could so much the more do this, since he received 20,000 livres in benefices and knew

how to have himself well received at court. It sometimes happened, that he boasted himself able to raise water by means of pumps or other machines as high as he wished. Such bragging gave occasion to a great lord to desire to raise water from a river to a much more elevated garden, which he had in the vicinity. The expense of this was so great, that it was found in the records of the comptroller to amount to 40,000, francs, although the entire affair was never worth anything.³³⁵

Note 335. The lead pipes burst under the pressure of the water, and those made of brass filled so much with sand, that they must be taken out to clean them. (See *Les Oeuvres de Bernard Palissy*, published by Anatole France. Paris. 1880. Discours admirable. p. 171.-- Further, Audiat, L. Bernard Palissy etc. Paris. 1868. p. 271).

That Palissy here had in view De l'Orme and the Chateau at Meudon is confirmed by another passage. "If the architect of the queen, who delayed in Italy and has rummaged in this country, to whom the authority and the supreme command over all the workmen of the said lady was entrusted, had only possessed some natural philosophy without a complete education, then would he have built a wall or arcade in the valley of S. Cloud and have easily brought the water from the bridge there to the walls of the park." ³³⁶

Note 336. Discours admirables. p. 181.

Pere Rapin speaks in his poem ³³⁷ of the gardens at Meudon, likewise of the useless excavations for water by the architect and of the despair of the owner.

Note 337. See Audiat. Book III. p. 272. Poem on Gardens.

154. Tendencies in Style.

In the artistic works of De l'Orme, several tendencies succeed each other:--

1. One more Italian, in the spirit of the students of the last manner of Bramante.
2. A freer tendency, more in the French spirit.
3. An endeavor to compose according to definite principles.

In a series of his creations, rather in those produced before 1560, there frequently appears a severity entirely in the spirit of Peruzzi, A. da Sangallo, Sansovino, or of Sanmichele. But on the contrary, there occasionally occur in the Tu-

Tuileries entirely capricious forms, like those by Alessi on Palace Marino at Milan, for example in the window balustrates of the court facade, which appear as if "suspended" (Fig. 46), and in the treatment of the attic, that are recognized as symptoms of the transition to the third phase of the Renaissance in the 16th century.

155. Italian Tendency.

De l'Orme admits in several passages, that he followed Italian models.

For example:-- "I have arranged above the doorway a little terrace or a balcony after the Italian style, as arranged on several palaces in Rome, Venice and other Italian cities; one passes from the apartment directly through the window upon such a terrace or such a balcony, in order to be in better air and to take pleasure in the surroundings." 338

Note 338. See Architecture. Book VIII. Chap. 6. p. 239, and the illustration on p. 239 v.

De l'Orme also speaks of the Italian architects of his time. He finds, for example, that their custom of giving to the pedestal of the Tuscan order one third the height of the column is exaggerated; one fourth pleases him better.

To the creations in the Italian tendency belong among others, the House at Lyons (Fig. 75), the Chateau at S. Maur in its first shape (Fig. 126), the Tomb of Francis I, the portal of the Chateau at Anet (Fig. 317), and the Temple in the park at Villers-Gotterets (Fig. 195).

De l'Orme's creations frequently permit recognition of the study of the works of Bramante.

In the cryptoportico of the Chateau at Anet, the arrangement of the plan is permeated by the study of certain arrangements in the designs of Bramante and of Raphael for S. Peter, the Vatican, Villa Madama, etc. The stairway plans in the exedras at both ends repeat the former stairway of Bramante on the Nicchione at Rome:-- convex and semicircular below, concave and semicircular above. Likewise in the garden at Anet, on the right of the entrance, this stairway form of Bramante is again employed. The external portal recalls the treatment of the Doric order employed on the Tempietto at Church S. Pietro in Montorio.

The circular chapel at Anet, enlarged as a Greek cross, is related to the innumerable designs produced in the first half of the 16th century by the pupils of Bramante, on the basis of his design for S. Peter, for the chapel in Palace S. Biagio etc.

One may even say in one case, that De l'Orme was admitted to confer upon his creation that highest grace, which Bramante exhibited in his last works in Milan, in the court of the Cancelleria at Rome, and in the piers of Church S. Lorenzo in Damaso. This was in the removed triple arcade beside the staircase in the court of the Chateau at Blois.

De l'Orme developed in this, in the proportions of the arched openings, the entablature, the treatment of the shafts, the three-quarter columns, in the relief of their four bands on the drums, in the graceful Doric-like capitals with an elegant row of leaves on the necking of the column, in the magical fineness of the abacus of perfect thickness, projection, and refined connection with the entablature, that equally mysterious as ravishing beauty, which unites the animated freshness of youth with perfectly ripe fullness.³³⁹

Note 339. Henry II decided in the year 1551 "to make in B Blois certain reparations of the new main building of the Chateau of Blois". These consisted in constructing anew all partitions in the wing of Francis I. It is possible, that this work was connected with the building of the arcade of Philibert De l'Orme. (See de Groy. p. 57).

However beautiful was also the arcade on the garden facade of the Tuileries in its proportions, it still lacked something of that perfected Bramantesque harmony, such as shown by the arcade at Blois, and which has perhaps been but once attained since in France, namely by Duban in the court of Hotel Bourtales at Paris.

156. Freer French Tendency.

That De l'Orme, aside from his reverence for the antique, and the severer Italian tendency, understood how to likewise move with a chiefly free tendency in his creations, is first shown by his conception of the spirit in which the study of antique works is to be practised.

He writes:-- "In brief, I have never designed columns nor

ornaments, that exhibited the same proportions, not even in the same (columnar) order. I say this frankly and confirm it by various examples on ancient monuments, so that those desiring to practice architecture may not only rely upon the multitude of the antique buildings, that they have measured, but may rather learn to know proportions and dimensions of the buildings, which they have to build, according to the kind and to the arrangement of each building.³⁴⁰

Note 340. In Architecture. Book VI. p. 197 v.

but that freer tendency also appears in the "French Order" (Fig. 46) and in the still freer treatment of the coupled columns, concerning which reference may be made to the Chapter on the Orders; also in the Chapter on the House; De l'Orme's own house is a further example of this tendency.

The true French endeavor to be original in certain domains before all else appears in De l'Orme, as in the elder Du Cerceau, sometimes in the design of very inharmonious treatment, as for example, in one of his enclosures of a doorway.³⁴¹ In a dormer window³⁴² with inverted flying buttresses with Ionic capitals at the sides, he takes the first step toward the "inclined columns" treated later. The animatedly built but not entirely happy external portal at Anet will be mentioned later (in the Chapter on Gateways). In the chapel of the chateau there (Fig. 193), the manner in which the lintel beneath the entablature and the latter itself are brutally stopped at half the height of the arched window, appearing as if in scorn of the nature of the antique architectural forms,³⁴³ although the introduction of these antique forms was indeed then most strongly recommended. Peculiar and almost quixotic appears in the same chapel the manner in which each of the windows on the exterior just mentioned have arranged a second one inside the external window enclosure, farther back and moulded on the window sill. The doorway in the interior of the chapel is better treated.³⁴⁴ the pilasters at the sides are replaced by consoles, which support a freely treated entablature with modillion frieze, and a richly sculptured wooden balustrade.

Note 341. See Architecture. p. 257.

Note 342. See the same. p. 256.

Note 343. This might have been avoided if the entablature had not been extended upon the ends of the transom bar.

Note 344. Illustration of this in Rouyer, E. *L'Art Architectural en France depuis Francois I jusqu'à Louis XIV* etc.

Text by A. Darcel. Paris. 1859-1866. Vol. 1. Pl. 26.

Entirely in opposition to the preceding caproces is another art tendency, of which De l'Orme states, that he pursued it in a later period:-- namely his endeavor to compose on the basis of "Biblical laws and sacred members". In the succeeding pages (in the Chapter on Proportions), this will be more fully mentioned.

157. Details.

The members in De l'Orme's mouldings are often deeply and sharply carved with ornaments, when the raised portions retain the smooth surface of the original member almost without any modeling, and they therefore lack the expression of noble modelling. Besides the use of foliage in the style of classical models, De l'Orme frequently employs leaves, whose interspaces rise from a second series of flat leaves placed behind them as if glued there. (Compare the lantern of the chapel of the Chateau at Anet). To emphasize the inclined caps of certain sarcophaguses, there are not infrequently three different kinds of leaven placed over each other. In the composition of ornaments and emblems, De l'Orme shows great certainty and much taste, as on the drums of the orders on the Tuileries. The different members of his mouldings are sometimes combined together in a very refined way. They were in part more animated in the Tuileries, than are those of Lescot in the court of the Louvre; even if not nobler, the proportions of the different members to each other was frequently so, and the general movement was in particular more correctly obtained.

In view of the delight manifested by De l'Orme in his treatise on the art of stonecutting, there must be mentioned here the excellent execution of the chapel of the Chateau at Anet, which will be mentioned later.

158. Artistic Nature.

If we finally turn to the artistic nature of De l'Orme, he then appears in almost every respect as the model of the true architect. By means of the practice of superintendence famil-

familiar to him from childhood, he was full of experience, possessed an imposing mass of technical knowledge, was enthusiastic in the art of stonecutting (art of drawing) and for construction had the creative activity of genius. Likewise in artistic respects was the gift conferred on him to design beautifully and to produce forms full of animated feeling and refined taste. Finally, De l'Orme was not satisfied with what might be learned as a "pupil" by industry and good instruction, rather did he desire to become a "master" in his profession, to penetrate the innermost nature of architecture, and to fathom the truth of form as well as the laws of its beauty.

Men are usually justly surprised, that in addition to his extensive architectural labors and the frequent and long journeys of inspection, which he was compelled to undertake under peculiar conditions, that it was possible for De l'Orme to write two extensive works, but this surprise becomes greater, when one finds with what literary studies he busied himself and what writings he also had in preparation.³⁴⁵

Note 345. See the following Chapter on the Architects.

Berty believes that he perceives therein a blameworthy endeavor for the "rational", instead of the feeling of tranquilizing beauty. We are of the opinion, that certain unskilful things justly mentioned by Berty in nowise have their cause therein, but are much rather to be explained, as De l'Orme among others did not recognize with sufficient clearness the actual esthetic side, which certain of the Biblical precepts employed by him might contain. He found no support in them for this reason, even if he allowed himself to be delighted by a certain rashness in composition and by Gallic enjoyment of the novel at the cost of principle. How little slavishly "rational", -- in the meaning of Viollet-le-Duc and his pupils, -- De l'Orme sometimes believed himself daring to be, as soon as it became necessary to place the chief emphasis more on the whole than the parts, the fact appears, that on the Chateau at Anet, on the great gallery extending before the chapel, he gave to the chimneys for decorative reasons the form of dormer windows, as he himself writes.³⁴⁶

Note 346. In Architecture. Book VIII. Chapter 20. p. 258 v.

We shall return to Philibert De l'Orme in several of the following Chapters.

e. Jacques I. Androuet Du Cerceau.

159. Rank of Du Cerceau.

The birth of Jacques I, who is always meant in the following pages whenever Du Cerceau is mentioned, cannot have taken place later than 1510 or 1512. Every trace of him is lost after 1584.³⁴⁷

Note 347. We refer to the uncritical work of Collet Pere. *Notice historique sur quelques Architectes Français du XVe Siecle.* Paris. 1842; - further to Berty, A. *Les grandes Architectes Français.* Paris. 1860:- also to Destailleur, H. *Notice sur quelques Artistes Français etc.* Paris. 1863. -- The results of these works as well as those of Jal, Charles Read and many others, together with much new material, are collected in the author's monograph, *Les Du Cerceau, leur Vie et leur Oeuvre etc.* (Paris. 1887).

The position occupied by Jacques I, the father of all the Du Cerceaus, in the group of the five great architects, is entirely different from those of his associates. After frequently overlooking even in the middle of this (19 th) century the existence of the three younger Du Cerceaus and ascribing their works to the father Jacques I, men passed later to the other extreme. Many, who were unable to find the proof that Jacques Androuet, the father, had ever built anything, adopted the opinion, that he probably was merely an engraver on copper, and that the title of "Architect to the King", that he bore was indeed merely an honorary title. Since I succeeded in proving that Du Cerceau was thoroughly an architect, and that one is compelled to award to him the authorship of two of the most important chateaus of the 16 th century, those at Verneuil-sur-Oise and at Charleval, yet it cannot be denied, that our decision is rather based upon the impression of the writings of Du Cerceau, than upon his architectural monuments. The circumstance, that neither one of the two chateaus mentioned now exists, and moreover that only the smallest portion of that at Charleval was executed, adds no little thereto.

160. Architectural Structures.

Jacques I is not alone to be regarded as the designer and architect of the Chateau at Verneuil-sur-Oise in its first

form as designed for Philippe de Boulainvilliers, but also as the creator (in 1575 or soon afterwards) of the design as changed for the second possessor, the duke de Nemours; the royal Chateau at Charleval is likewise by him. The constructing masters of the chateau first mentioned were Jacques Androuet's son-in-law Jehan Brosse (father of the famous Salomon de Brosse) and Androuet's own son Baptiste.³⁴⁸

Note 348. The various reasons for this statement are contained in the author's previously mentioned Treatise on the Du Cerceau and may be read there.

By the development of its plan and of the beautiful garden arranged in terraces, the building at Verneuil belongs to the most important chateaus begun then, which were not royal. The treatment of the angles by means of two pavilions, as they occur in the first design of Du Cerceau (Fig. 271), was indeed omitted in the second design; still his grand nephew (?) Salomon de Brosse again adopted this in his chateau. The building seems to have been entirely completed only under Henry IV; he had it restored by one of the sons of Jacques I Du Cerceau for Mademoiselle d'Entragues, Marquise de Verneuil, favored by him. It fell out worse with the other chateau design of Du Cerceau, that for Charleval; this can be designated as one of the most beautiful chateau plans of the 16th century in France. (Fig. 232).³⁴⁹

Note 349. See Seymüller. Les Du Cerceau etc. Paris. 1887. p. 99.

The reasons that required Du Cerceau the father to be regarded as the designer of the plans for the Chateau at Charleval are on the one hand based on the drawing of Jacques I for this chateau discovered by me, on the other on the following documentary passage:-- "Jacques Androuet, called Du Cerceau, architect, 200 livres. -- Baptiste Androuet, called Cerceau, architect at Charleval, the same pension that he used to have:-- 400 livres."³⁴⁹ By this statement found by Jal in a list of pensioners of Henry III in the year 1577, it is entirely decided, that 5 years after the purchase of the lands it was already usual for Baptiste Du Cerceau, the son of Jacques I, to receive an annual salary of 400 livres. But the amount of this salary is a certain proof, that Baptiste could be in that

village only the royal architect of the chateau.

This fact, together with the previously mentioned, carefully executed drawing by the father of Baptiste, -- Jacques I Du Cerceau, -- which represents the design for a central or side pavilion on the entrance side of the Chateau at Charlev-al,³⁵⁰ and which is entirely different from that engraved by himself in his "Les plus excellents Bastiments de France (Paris. 1576)", is a no less certain proof, that Du Cerceau the father had prepared designs for the building before its commencement, which indeed are different from his engraved plans but still are related to them. We are therefore under the necessity of assuming, that the splendid design for the Chateau in question was either by Du Cerceau the father alone, or that it was worked out by him conjointly with his son Baptiste. The latter supervised the execution alone, or perhaps with the respective Jacques Du Cerceau, whose name directly precedes his own. It is hard to decide, whether he must be brought into connection with the Chateau at Charlev-al in the previously mentioned list, and whether Jacques I or his son Jacques II is thereby meant. It would have the appearance in the first case, that Du Cerceau the father was then little busied with work for the royal court, and that he was perhaps pensioned for the publication of his works, or that his participation in the execution of his design was less than that of his son Baptiste.

Note 350. Reproduced in Geymüller, Les Du Cerceau, Fig. 47; also see further p. 83, 95, 96, 100, 103, 135, 216.

Du Cerceau says himself,³⁵¹ that the work of restoring the chateau at Montargis was entrusted to him by Renee of France. By him indeed were all works, "for repairing the neglected and ruinous chateau, for beautifying it and enriching it with some new buildings, for providing the gardens and other conveniences", -- all after the year 1560.³⁵²

Note 351. In Les plus excellents Bastiments de France. Vol. 2. Paris. 1578. (In connection with the description of the Chateau at Villers-Cotterets. -- Jacques Besson, whose plates were engraved by Du Cerceau, designates the latter in Book 1 of his "Instruments Mathematiques" (Orleans. 1569) as "Architect of the King and of Madame the duchess of Ferrara".

Note 352. M. Jules Bonnet, biographer of Renee, most kindly wrote to me on Feb. 29, 1892:-- "I have recently found among my papers a document, which proves that the chief expenditures of the Chateau of Montargis by Du Cerceau occurred in 1569, six years before the death of the duchess of Ferrara". The death of my friend followed three weeks later and prevented him from communicating anything further to me, and Madame Bonnet has yet been unable to find this note among his papers.

Whether the erection of the choir of Church Madeleine at M Montargis, which is likewise ascribed to Du Cerceau, was actually in part or perhaps wholly by him, I could not determine with certainty.³⁵³

Note 353. See Geymüller. Les Du Cerceau etc. p. 73.

Du Cerceau published his first important writings in Orleans from 1549 to 1551; he had there his atelier. A house at No. 6, Place de la Vollaile, exhibits the manner in which he must have built another, No. 17 Rue Bretonniere, about 1535-1540, judging from his drawings of between 1540-1550. But my observation is not strengthened by a tradition or document of any kind.

According to Lance,³⁵⁴ Du Cerceau assisted in the works for the entry of Henry II and Diana of Poitiers into Orleans on Aug. 1, 1551. From the style comes the possibility, that the grotto built in the park at Gaillon, called the Maison Blanche (Fig. 248), is by him. Finally, according to a verbal communication of M. -. de Montaiglan, the former ballroom and the chapel at Villers-Cotterets, now Depot de Mendicite (Alms-house), might be works of Du Cerceau, as well as a narrow, straight and dark stairway in the court on the right thereof.

Note 354. Lance. Vol. 2. p. 121.

With the publication of the book "Livre des Edifices antiques Romains", dedicated to his patron, Prince Jacques of Savoy, duke of Genevois and Nemours, we lose all traces of our ancient master. It has been believed, that on account of his Huguenot faith, he withdrew with his protector, the second possessor of the Chateau at Verneuil, to Savoy and died there. Others have spoken of a flight of his son Baptiste, who in 1585 as a Huguenot abandoned his house in Paris and fled to Henry IV. But since the royal accounts record the salary of

Baptiste until his death in 1590, this flight is in nowise proved. If it occurred at all, it might finally refer to the flight of his father, and his disappearance without traces might rather be thus explained.

The sons of Jacques I, Baptiste and Jacques II, as well as his grandson Jean, the son of Baptiste, all of whom reached the highest places as royal architects, will be mentioned later.

161. Later Influence and Peculiarities in Style.

In certain compositions of Du Cerceau, the fact is of quite particular interest, that he employed or invented forms, that are like prophesies of forms, which were to first occur in the later periods of Louis XIV, or even under the Empire. This circumstance can in nowise be explained in that certain results of the engravings of Du Cerceau exerted an influence long after him and were considered. It rather appears to me that a proof of my conception of the development of French art lies in this, according to which the latter forms from 1500 until our time three truly modified, yet recurring periods of development of the same style tendency, that of the Renaissance. Men will then easily understand, that in the corresponding phases of these three periods similar modes of feeling, ideas, and forms must recur, even if in a different style-tone, and consequently could also produce in part similar art forms.

The influence exerted by Du Cerceau on later masters is seen in the Chateau at Blois among others, on the building of Gaston d'Orleans, on the arrangement of the trophies on the dormers of the middle bay, where like the intersection of umbrellas thrown together in disorder, they are attached to the circular pediment, indeed in a manner that occurs in numerous engravings and drawings by Du Cerceau in a very characteristic way and only in his works.

One can say that in yet another form has Du Cerceau the father influenced French architecture; by his sons Baptiste and Jacques II as well as his grandson Jean on the one hand, and on the other by his son-in-law Jean Brosse, and especially by the son of the latter, Salomon de Brosse, and his grandson P Paul.

By the marriage of Jean Brosse with Julienne, the daughter

of Jacques Androuet, and by the call of the former to the charge of the Chateau at Verneuil-sur-Oise designed by his father-in-law, there arose for the three generations not only close relations between the cousin architects of both families, which contributed to the bestowing of the position of royal architect on them repeatedly; but one may also assume, that manifold style elements and architectural ideas of the elder Du Cerceau survived in his sons and nephews, in this way contributing to influence later monuments. Thus may it be assumed, for example, that the arrangement of two pavilions occurring at each angle in the first unexecuted design of Du Cerceau for the Chateau at Verneuil influenced the Chateau at Coulommier by Salomon de Brosse.

It can be further ascribed only to the building of the Chateau at Verneuil, that as Read expresses himself,³⁵⁵ this place became a real nest of architectural families, all Huguenots. For besides the Du Cerceaus and the De Brosses, there may be found in the community registers the Mestiviers and the Du Rys. It is uncertain then, whether the latter were drawn to Verneuil by the erection of the Chateau or were natives, which were trained in the building trade, just by the building of the Chateau by Du Cerceau and Brosse.

Note 355. In the Art. "Salomon de Brosse" in *La France Protestante*. 2^d edition. 1881. Vol. 3. p. 5, 162.

162. Different Publications.

The works published by Du Cerceau must here be somewhat more fully considered for various reasons. Together, they form a true monument, that can scarcely find its equal elsewhere. Combined in the works of a single master, it may be said that they afford an entirely clear representation of the three phases of the style of the Renaissance in France during the 16th century in which Du Cerceau took part, the sources from which they came, their development, the gradual transition and in part the influences, which they exerted meantime. They likewise reflect the endeavors of the artist world of the time, as well as the desires, demands, and opinions of the public.

The publications under consideration primarily have in view to extend in France most widely the forms of the Renaissance,

which Du Cerceau had thoroughly learned in Italy, and to free his native land from a partial dependence upon Italian workmen. To this end he utilized not merely his own studies or compositions; he frequently was satisfied by giving merely French editions of the Italian, Flemish, and even a German series of engravings, which he circulated from Orleans and Paris, where he successively had his atelier. Bramante, Fra Giocondo, Rosso, Primaticcio, Caraglio, Salviati, Leonard Thiry (Leon Daveu), Nicoletto da Modena, Virgil Solis from Nuremberg, and Wredeman de Vries sometimes furnished the models or the subjects for his engravings.

The activity developed by Androuet in this way, the great number of his works, the diversity of the fields comprised in them, appear almost incredible. He was an architectural designer of the first rank, when he executed the finest lines or shading with pen and brush on paper or parchment, or when he used the etching needle on the copper plate!

The earliest engraving is of the year 1534 and his last work is of 1584. During these 50 years, the master himself etched or caused to be etched in his atelier at least 1930 plates with 2843 illustrations in volumes, series, or in separate plates. From the same period are known 15 volumes of original drawings with 845 sheets, drawn on paper or parchment. Among all these plates are to be found only 14 plates from the certainly numberless sketches, that Du Cerceau certainly made during his stay of about three years in Italy, and these are in the possession of the Royal Library at Munich.

The publications of Du Cerceau not only apply to the architects or to those branches of art, which are in direct connection with architecture, but they comprise the entire scope of art in that time. They supply architectural forms, backgrounds, frames and architectural groups for paintings, stained glass, tapestries (arras), reliefs in stone and the noble metals, illustrations for books, goldsmiths' works etc., which became necessary after the Renaissance permeated all the fields of the applications of art. They likewise furnish the elements of the representation of the very favorite scenes from classic antiquity in forms, that men now also desire to treat as antique. In the two volumes of his repeatedly ment-

mentioned work "Les plus excellent Bastiments de France", Du cerceau has represented a series, -- so to speak, -- of standard, partly destroyed and partly never executed, chateaus and palaces of the early and the high Renaissance, thereby creating an architectural and historical document, a true memorial of the greatest importance. One will scarcely err in assuming that by his writings and other publications, he exerted on French art in many respects a far deeper and more lasting influence, than did his four great French contemporaries by their architectural works.

The general character as well as the different tendencies of Du Cerceau's publications have been fully described in Chapter VIII of my frequently mentioned monograph, and I have there given for the first time a list of all line engravings now known, with the still most complete bibliography on the basis of the previous labors of Destailleur and others, accompanied by critical notes. Therefore in this place reference may generally be made to the work mentioned, and indeed so much the more, since the limits of this volume do not permit a thorough examination of a great part of the writings of Du Cerceau.

Very many of Du Cerceau's engravings as well as several of his series or volumes actually never received from him a name nor a title page; others merely give an address to the reader. Different engravings frequently have received brief notes written with a pen, probably by Du Cerceau himself or in his atelier, such as it was then customary to place on original drawings. As a result of this, there has arisen in Paris generally a conventional designation for many of these plates or series, that is convenient, but readily affords opportunity for errors. Finally in the doubtless most complete collection of Du cerceau's engravings, that of the Cabinet of Copper Plate Engravings, the former owner, the architect Callet, entirely without critical sense, placed on the engravings quite fanciful titles and dates, invented by himself, that deceive the uninitiated and lead them into error.

Concerning the mode of execution, Du Cerceau's engravings may be divided into line engravings, i.e., into those with bold lines but without modeling produced by hatching, and into

the far more numerous kind, that exhibit such hatching. The architectural works represented in the line engravings frequently bear the character of the Early Renaissance (Style of Francis I); many examples of them are found, which are lightly worked, evidently to impart to them more the appearance of original drawings and thus satisfy the demand for the latter. Incised freely and swiftly in the varnish of the copper plate by the etching needle, they actually exhibit the freshness of a pen drawing, or the rapid representation of an architectural composition by the architect himself; thus, for example, in my monograph are the large cartouches of Fontainebleau (Fig. 20) and the Palace of Guardianship at Bordeaux (Fig. 80). Several, like the door dated 1530 (Fig. 19), show the transition from the early to the high Renaissance.

With reference to their purpose, I have arranged the works of Du Cerceau in three groups:--

1. Those in which the human figure plays the chief part.
2. Those containing objects from the domain of art industry.
3. Those of purely architectural character.

In the second group are especially prominent, as being very interesting to architects:--

a. Fragments antiques from Leonard Thiry (Leon Daveu) from Antwerp.

b. Les Vues d'Optique, Aurélie (Orleans. 1551).., erroneously regarded as copies from Michele Cuccchi.

c. Les petites Vues, copied from the *Variae architecturae Formae* of Veredmann Vriese from Antwerp.

d. Modeles pour Orfevrie, especially the orfevrie au trait (p. 182, 285; Figs. 75, 77, 96).

The works of exclusively architectural character at first show antique ruins, beginning with the ancient:--

e. Praecipua aliquot Romanae Antiquitas Ruinarum, a reduced copy of the work published in 1561 in Venice by the Vicentine Battista Pitoni.

f. The Livre des Edifices Romains. (1584. Shows the chief buildings of the city of Rome in their best period, as then represented.

g. The Monuments Antiques, generally combined in one volume with the Arches of the year 1560. (Destailleur believes,

that they are copied after Hans Blumen from Frankfort-a-M. (Zurich, 1558); I have proved that the engravings are by Du Cerceau the elder).

h. The Gateways with the inscription "Quondam fuit Ingens Ilion 1534" and "Multa Renascentur que nunc cecidere".

i. The Triumphal Arches, -- Arcs -- 25 exempla Arcuum. (Orleans, 1549).

k. The arcs et Monuments Antiques. Jacobi Androuetti Du Cerceau. Liber Novus. MDLX.

Other works treat of the architectural orders.

Religious architecture is not largely represented. Besides separate plates are to be mentioned:--

l. The series Les Temples (also called Les moyens Temples) Jacobus Androuetius Du Cerceau -- Templa -- Aurelia. 1550, interesting, particularly as a partial repetition of much older Italian compositions.

m. The Temples et Habitations fortifies, also called Petits Temples.

For secular architecture are to be mentioned in the first rank five works, which we give with their running titles:--

n. Petites Habitations ou Logis domestiques, without title, from the style between 1540 and 1545.

o. Cinquante Batiments tous differents, properly Livre d'Architecture de Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, containing the plans and drawings of fifty buildings etc. (Paris. 1559) or w with the Latin title; De Architectura Jacobi Androuetti Du Cerceau Opus. Lutetiae Parisiorum. 1559.

p. Le "Second Livre d'Architecture" by Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, containing several designs of fireplaces, dormer windows, doorways, fountains, wells, and pavilions, for enriching both the interiors and exteriors of all buildings, -- ten different tombs. (Paris. 1561). -- The Latin edition has the title:-- De Architectura Jacobi Androuetti Du Cerceau Opus Alterum. Parisiis. 1561.

q. Livre d'architecture pour batir aux Champs -- properly Livre d'Architecture de Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, in which are contained various designs of plans and elevations of buildings for lords, gentlemen and others desiring to build in the country. (Paris. 1572).

[illegible]

r. Finally, the work intended to be in three volumes on the architectural monuments of France, which constitutes his chief title to fame. There appeared of this:--

A. Le premier Volume des plus excellents Bastiments de France. 1576. It contains:--

1. Maisons royales; Le Louvre, Vincennes, Chambord, Boulogne (called Madrid), Creil, Coussy, Folemberg (called the Pavilion), Montargis, Saint-Germain, La Muette.

2. Maisons particulieres; Vallery, Verneuil, Anssy-le-Franc, Gaillon, Maune.

B. La deuxieme Volume des plus excellents Batiments de France -- Paris. 1579. It contains:--

1. Maisons royales; Blois, Amboise, Fontainebleau, Villers-Cotterets, Charleval, Les Thuilleries, Saint-Maur, Chenonceaux.

2. Maisons particulieres; Chantilly, Anet, Escouen, Dampierre, Chailleeau, Beau-Regard, Bury.

C. For the intended third volume, Volume des Monuments de Paris, which was never executed, five plates exist, namely:-- the Fontaine des Innocents; the Bastille; the Batiment construit recemment entre le petit-pont et l'Hotel-Dieu; the Pont Notre Dame, and the Perspective of the interior of the great hall of the Palace at Paris.

There may further be mentioned here two facades of gabled houses in the style of Francis I, frequently designated as Les Maisons d'Orleans; one bears the inscription:-- "Post Ten-
ebras Sper oluc em::." ³⁵⁶ They evidently belong to the era of the gateway dated 1534. The large original drawing of Du Cerceau for the third facade in a similar style, likewise dated 1534, I discovered in London and have reproduced later. (In F Fig. 289).

Note 356. Represented in Lübke. Geschichte der Renaissance in France. 2nd edition. p. 237.

Attention should further be called to the Compositions d'Architecture, five separate and rare plater without apparent connection, two of which are dated, Aureliae. 1551.

Lastly are mentioned the following works in the domain of decoration.

Livre des Grotesques (Grandes Grotesques). Paris. 1556. -- Only two examples of these with the title page are known.

Grotesques (Petits Grotesques). 1 st edition. Orleans. 1550; 2 nd edition. Paris. 1562.

Grands cartouches de Fontainebleau and Petits Cartouches, - without title page.

2. Group of the Italians and the School of Fontainebleau.

163. School of Fontainebleau.

It was already pointed out, that on the one hand the springing forth of French architecture during the period of the Renaissance and the development of its youthful stage until the year 1530 or 1535 without a direct participation of Italians on French soil appears as a psychological and artistic impossibility, and that on the other from the standpoint occupied by it about the year 1535, the path of development over which French Renaissance architecture had passed, would be entirely conceivable psychologically and artistically without further colonies of architects. This is conceivable, since French architects and the natural taste were now sufficiently developed and had received a sufficient germ of the new spirit, to henceforth bring from Italy itself, what had been previously brought therefrom by Italian masters and sculptors. For the latter is just what the five previously described great masters did, when they trained themselves in such thorough manner by their studies in Italy.

But history shows that their train of thought was not realized. For in the School of Fontainebleau, we also have for the second phase of the French Renaissance an equally important colony in the heart of France, just as a similar one existed in the first phase on the Loire, and which deserved to bear the name of the School of Amboise.

This apparent contradiction between what may be considered conceivably possible and what actually occurred, may indeed be explained, that the first assumption would indeed be permissible, if it concerned only the external stone architecture, but that for the internal architecture and the decoration, even in little northern Franconia, this second intense focus of Italian culture was a compulsory necessity. Without the latter, there would not have been laid the first foundations, upon which progress in architecture was to be based. But th-

this new basis of the modern, i.e., of the Italian conception of art, in contrast to the mediaeval Gothic, consists exactly in the restoration of that harmony between the spheres of work of the three sister arts, without which the Gothic conception of objective perfection, foreign to the Gothicists, could not have been striven for. It was intended to help to their rights again those art feelings, to which correspond sculpture and painting, to recall them, -- so to speak, -- to the too strongly Germanic-masculine, ever imitative architecture. It was designed to show, that "gentilezza" is just as indispensable in the circle of the three graces or of the sister arts, as in the family circle. For this reason, painters and sculptors play the first parts in the school of Fontainebleau; therefore in this portion of the history of architecture must be mentioned some masters of the sister arts.

Considered from a higher historical standpoint, aside from all its defects, the school of Fontainebleau in nowise was so unfruitful in results or so injurious, as believed now by many of the French party. Who can indeed assert that among the seed, that Francis I and his Italian masters then sowed, there were not good seed grains, which with slow but sure germination bore fruit in art only in the 17 th, 18 th and 19 th centuries, and in part still bear those, which no Frenchman may disclaim?

The Italian masters, which Francis I called to Fontainebleau, developed there an extremely zealous activity, that became the "School of Fontainebleau". Its influence on the development of French art is justly held very important; yet many errors have resulted therefrom. While the true nature of this influence has not always been understood, it is frequently extended to cases in which it did not exist. The consequence is, that in recent times writers with the tendency of Palustre have again underestimated this influence, or they have believed it did not exist, and thus have denied it.³⁵⁷

Note 357. Bonaffe writes (in Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1875. p. 394):-- "That the Italians have played a considerable part in France since the school of Fontainebleau, no one thinks of disputing; but must one through idolatry allow them to already enter on the scene at the true beginning of our Renaissance

and ascribe to them its initiative? --- I confess, that however tolerable may also be my admiration of the incomparable masters of the Italian Renaissance, yet it does not go so far as to distort history in their favor. -- Men show us the Italian stamp on the earliest works of the Renaissance".

In an article in "Temps" (Feb. 9, 1891), it is said on the occasion of a "reunion of the fine arts societies of the departments":-- As for painting, it clearly shows that our artists were attached to the realistic traditions of the Flemish school and could take nothing from the Italians, who had reached the last period of refinement. That is why the school of Fontainebleau remained sterile among us, and like tropical birds in temperate climates, its masters passed away without posterity". (cited in Courajod, L. La Sculpture Francaise avant la Renaissance classique. Paris. 1891. p. 5).

I believed for a long time, that the actual influence chiefly occurred in the domain of internal architecture and decoration. Only gradually could I establish, that Primaticcio erected buildings of the highest worth, and that Serlio exerted a very great influence, although he appears to have built but little. It is therefore necessary to more fully consider the works of these two masters, while the labors of other artists belonging here will be described in the Chapter on "Interior Decoration". But since it occurred that Rosso Fiorentino likewise became effective in architecture, I may therefore briefly refer to him here.

f. Il Rosso (Giovanbattista).

164. Rosso as Architect.

Rosso was born on March 8, 1494, in Florence and is designated in the French accounts as Roux de Rousse or de Roux. He came to Fontainebleau about 1530, and he was the head of the Italian colony there until his death in 1541. He is chiefly known as a painter and sculptor. Yet he should not be overlooked as an architect, for Vasari says of him:--³⁵⁸"nell architettura fu eccellentissimo straordinario". According to the words used by Vasari, Rosso first commenced a gallery or inferior court in Fontainebleau, and one may conclude that he undertook its construction as architect, for it is said of him:-- "Yet he constructed over it not a vault, but a ceiling

with a very beautiful subdivision". This can only refer to the Gallery of Francis I, that also agrees with what Vasari properly says of the bizarre stucco decoration on the walls. Therefore it would not be impossible for the external architecture with palasters on the upper story of the gallery of Francis I and the attic with dormer windows to have been by Rosso, in case the latter belongs to the era of the erection of the eastern wing.³⁵⁹

Note 358. In *Le Vite de piu eccelent Architecti etc.* Edition of 1880. Vol. 5. p. 156.-- Vasari mentions a triumphal arch for the entry of Leo X into Florence, a model of the throne of Solomon, and various designs for Arezzo and the vicinity, among them a Chapel of the Fraternita. In Fontainebleau, the king made him (see Italian text).

Note 359. We will return to this later in connection with the construction of the Chateau at Fontainebleau.

Beitle, the present architect of Fontainebleau, ascribes to Rosso the Grotto des Pins and its construction to Fantuzzi. To me likewise this grotto appears without doubt to be based on an Italian design by Rosso or Primaticcio.³⁶⁰

Note 360. See the later notice of this grotto under g, as well as what is said of grottos in the Chapter on Gardens.

At the entry of the emperor Charles V into Fontainebleau (end of 1539 or beginning of 1540), Rosso had charge of one half the festal decorations and Primaticcio of the remainder. The arches, colossus etc. by Rosso were the most beautiful, that had until then been seen in this country.

It is important to make prominent the architectural talents of Rosso and of Primaticcio, since it would then be almost entirely natural for works of purely Italian character (like the Grotto des Pins) to be produced before the arrival of Serlio in Fontainebleau (1541); Palustre, on the contrary, might from this circumstance represent such works as produced by Frenchmen.³⁶¹

Note 361. In the incomplete documents, Rosso is first mentioned in the Letters Patent of Francis I (May, 1532). (See *Archives de l'Art Francois*. Vol. 3. 1853-1855). The fact, that he was only appointed as "painter in ordinary for the excellent and great industry, that he has in that art," signif-

signifies nothing here, since Primaticcio is likewise not mentioned in the documents before 1559 as architect.

Rosso decorated many rooms in the Chateau at Fontainebleau with paintings and stucco-work, several of which were destroyed by Primaticcio and replaced by greater.³⁶²

Note 362. Molte camere, stufe, e altro sanzo. (See Vasari. Vol. 5. p. 169, 170).

g. Francesco Primaticcio. (Le Primatice).

165. Primaticcio as Architect.

Here indeed for the first time must be made the attempt to closely examine the work of the famous painter Primaticcio as an architect, and to rate it in this connection. So far as I know, this side of his work has been but superficially mentioned, like a sporadic phenomenon, which one is not right certain is to be taken seriously. Therefore it is not surprising, that his appointment to the highest architectural office in France, to be superintendent of the royal buildings, astonished many, and to thers appeared as a crying injustice. Then certainly was lacking until recently to the conception of the individual personality of Primaticcio as architect of the connecting chief portion, which is likewise the corroborating element. To have added this is the merit of Theophile Lhuillier.

This neglect may indeed have also resulted from the fact, that of his three principal architectural works, two have long since disappeared. One of these, the Chateau at Monceaux-en-Brie, was ascribed to a different master, so that men were not quite confident in awarding to him the authorship of the Chateau at Ancy-le-Franc. A fourth work by him, indeed belonging to the domain of decoration, the Gallery of Ulysses at Fontainebleau, likewise no longer exists.

166. Course of his Life.

Francesco Primaticcio was born in 1490 at Bologna and died in 1570 at Paris. He worked from 1525 as a painter and stucco-worker under Giulio Romano at Mantua, and he was called to France in 1531 to execute similar works in Fontainebleau. By his activity and his skill in the arrangement of festivals, he attained great fame with Rosso, after his death being the real head of the famous school at Fontainebleau. In the French

documents and the accounts of the king's buildings, he is alternately called master Francisque de Primaticis of Bologna, or the Abbe of Saint-Martin, or Saint-Martin, Francisque Primaticy, or merely the said of Bologna, and lord of Bologna.

By his teacher Giulio Romano, Primaticcio was initiated into all the mysteries of the magic of color and stucco decoration, which Bramante and Raphael had again employed in the Loggias and in Villa Madama at Rome. He also unfortunately adopted many capricious elements, such as began to develop themselves in the works of Giulio, Perino del Vaga, and other pupils of Raphael after his death, and which form a chief characteristic tendency in the so-called cartouches at Fontainebleau and in the decoration there. (For example in the Gallery of Francis I). The latter is indeed a work of Rosso, who as a pupil of Michelangelo contributed still more dangerous elements.³⁶³ Meanwhile Primaticcio did not remain free from mannerisms, and in the exaggeration of the lengths of his figures, he follows the same tendency as Vasari, Salviati, Bronzino, Benvenuto Cellini, Du Cerceau and other Frenchmen. Indeed with the present views of many artists and connoisseurs, Primaticcio is regarded as the representative of declining Italian art, by which the genius of France was infected for many years. Lübke could not decide to accept, that the clear design of the Chateau at Ancy-le-Franc could be by such a master, and we see Palustre grasp at fantastic hypotheses of legendary imagination, merely in order to not be compelled to recognize Primaticcio's authorship of the Mausoleum of the Valois, which he finds worthy of Lescot.³⁶⁴

Note 363. Must not this opposition of the tendencies of Raphael and of Michelangelo, transferred to France, among their pupils at Fontainebleau, have contributed to produce the slight appreciation, that Primaticcio had for the works of Rosso?

Note 364. See Gazette des Beaux Arts. 1894. Jan., Apr. Oct.

In such and similar decisions, one forgets too readily, that at a court, at which the duchess d'Etampes and Diana of Poitiers were so powerful, was not exactly suited for imparting to artists morally pure inspiration, ennobling the imagination. Therefore it is well to remember on the other hand, that the severe Poussin was accustomed to say, that he knew of nothing else.

better adapted for educating a painter and for firing his genius, than the Gallery of Ulysses.³⁶⁵ It is likewise to be considered, that in the three principal architectural works of Primaticcio mentioned, a systematic severity was developed, that as the exterior of the Chateau at Anoy-le-Franc almost borders upon Huguenot tastelessness or Spanish coldness.

Note 365. See Mariotte's *Abecedario* in *Archives de l'Art Francois*. Vol. 4. (1857-1858). p. 212.

From the course of Primaticcio's life otherwise, the following dates should be of interest.

In 1532, he was sent to Brussels on account of the cartoons of the tapestry of Scipio Africanus.³⁶⁶

Note 366. See Laborde, L.de. *Comptes des Batiments du Roi*. Paris. 1877-1880. Vol. 2. p. 366.

On July 2, 1533, he commenced (with Nicolas Bellin, called Modesne) the paintings in the chamber of the great tower at Fontainebleau.³⁶⁷

Note 367. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 94-95.

In April, 1536, he was designated as conductor and divider of the said works of stucco and painting in the room of the queen, and he received 25 livres monthly.³⁶⁸

Note 368. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 98.

Between 1537 and 1540 (in October), he cleaned the four paintings of Raphael, that belonged to the king.

In 1539, he was designated as painted and valet de chambre of the king, and he received an unusual salary of 600 livres.³⁶⁹

Note 369. See Laborde. Vol. 2. p. 366.

At the beginning of the year 1540, Primaticcio was sent to Rome by Francis I, "to draw several medals, paintings, triumphal arches, and other exquisite antiquities existing there, which we desire to see, to also select, and to know those that we can recover there and accept".³⁷⁰ The king indeed ordered on Feb. 13, 1539 (1540 new style), the payment to him of 675 livres as compensation for traveling expenses.³⁷¹

Note 370. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francois*. 3rd series. Vol. 4. (1888).

Note 371. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 193.

Rosso died in the year 1541. Primaticcio was recalled and took his place. He brought Vignola to Fontainebleau and also

at least 133 chests with marble figures and forms, among them being those of the Laocoon, of Tiberius, of the Apollo Belvidere, of Ariadne, etc.³⁷³ There is further mentioned in this year his paintings and stucco-works in the salon of the king, near his chamber, also those in the salon, the chamber, and in the steam-bath (etuve) under the great gallery (Francis I), and lastly those in the ballroom. (Gallery of Henry II).

Note 372. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 193.

Note 373. In his "Address given at the 14 th reunion of the Societies of Fine Arts of the Departments", Mantz allows Primaticcio to return in 1543, on the basis of the statement of Benvenuto Cellini.

In case the letter of Feb. 8, 1545 (1546 new style) be genuine, that Francis I wrote to Michelangelo, and which the Abbe of S. Martin de Troyes was to carry to the artist, then Primaticcio was sent to Rome a second time. Yet since this letter came from the estate of Wicar, it is not impossible that the latter may have invented the letter and even have written it.³⁷⁴

Note 374. Published in Archives de l'Art Francais. Vol. 9. (1857-1858). p. 37.

On Jan. 21, 1559, Primaticcio was placed at the head of all architectural works and other undertakings of Catherine de M Medici.³⁷⁵ Patents are dated on July 12 and 17 of the same year, in which the king confirms his appointment as superintendent of the royal buildings.

Note 375. See Memoires de la Societe de l'Histoire de Paris. Vol. 3. p. 250.

On Jan. 20, 1563 (new style), Primaticcio drew up his will in S. Germain-en-Laye, shortly before a new journey to Italy.³⁷⁶

Note 376. The original is to be found in Bologna and is published in Gage's "Carteggio". Tommaso Sandonini conjectures (in Gazette des Beaux Arts, Vol. 31 (1885), p. 20), that Primaticcio perhaps made this journey in company with Jean Goujon, or soon after the latter.

In Mariette's "Abecedario",³⁷⁷ the following are mentioned as works of Primaticcio; the paintings in the former chapel of Hotel de Guise at Paris, and in the chapel of the Chateau of Fleury near Fontainebleau, an open garden cabinet with the

story of Pomona and of Vertumnus in the Garden des Pins at Fontainebleau, and the drawing for the Grotto des Pins there, a variation of which was engraved in 1545 by Fantuzzi.

Note 377. See Archives de l'Art Français. Vol. 4. (1857-8). p. 29.

167. Architectural Works.

First by Lhuillier's discovery attested by documents,³⁷⁸ that Primaticcio was the architect and executive master of the great royal Chateau at Monceau-en-Brie (Fig. 116), did the fact again come to light, that Primaticcio had also developed an important activity as an architect. As soon as this is settled, one cannot hesitate for a moment, that the master of the Chateau at Ancy-le-Franc (Figs. 103, 264, 265, 326), who was certainly an Italian, is also to be seen in Primaticcio. By this becomes properly understood the fact, that in the building accounts he was mentioned as the first architect of the Tomb-Chapel of the Valois at S. Denis (Figs. 21, 106, 197, 213), retaining this position until his end, and at the same time he is finally decided to be the designer of this very interesting mausoleum.

Note 378. See Journal Officiel de la Republique Française of April 19. 1844. p. 2135. (Reunion des Sociétés des Beaux Arts des Départements at the Sorbonne in 1884):-- further, L'ancien Chateau Royal de Monceau-en-Brie in Reunion des Sociétés des Beaux Arts. Paris. 1884. p. 246.

The Chateau at Ancy-le-Franc is considered one of the most interesting works of the French Renaissance, and by the severity of its architecture it takes a peculiar position among contemporary monuments. It was already completed externally in 1546, thus at the time at which the construction of the court of the Louvre was commenced; it arose at the same time with De l'Orme's Chateau at S. Maur-les-Fosses and perhaps likewise with the Gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau. This Chateau is one of the earliest, perhaps even the earliest of the larger buildings executed entirely in the style of the high Renaissance; it stands much higher in the treatment of the plan, than all contemporary works of French masters.

Almost contemporary (1549) with the court of the Louvre and scarcely of smaller dimensions, almost contemporary with Mich-

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Michelangelo's renewal of the use of a colossal order on the exterior of the Church S. Peter in Rome (1547), Primaticcio likewise introduced the same into France, when he employed it on the exterior of Catherine's famous Chateau at Monceau-en-Brie. By such a grand example and by the accenting of this other tendency in the architectural conception, he certainly created a powerful impression.

In the domain of domical construction, the Mausoleum of the Valois was an architectural composition as prominent in its way as Lescot's court of the Louvre. If everything in the engravings of Marot and others be not deceptive, then Primaticcio designed and began to execute here a domed building, beside which neither France nor Italy could have placed anything of its kind. In the art of the development of the plan, Primaticcio shows himself as a true architect. Plan and section show that from Giulio Romany he had received quite other instruction, than in mere stucco and fresco decoration. (See Arts. 50 and 51).

168. Activity as Superintendent.

In order to give an idea of the activity, that Primaticcio developed as superintendent of the royal buildings, the words of one of the quietest Frenchmen, most competent to decide, are here given. For Destailleur writes:--³⁷⁹ "The appointment of Primaticcio in 1559 as superintendent of the royal buildings marks an important date: the time at which an Italian, who had become firmly placed in France, began to exert a direct influence." He adds thereto:-- "In 1559 the Renaissance produced its masterpieces; it must then enter on the path of its decline."

Note 379. In *Notices sur quelques Artistes Français etc.* Paris. 1863. p. 9.

These words reproduce the views held until about the year 1860, but require extension in two-fold respects. First, the Italians were already no less busy from 1495, than at the time of the high Renaissance; the results of their participation were only less similar to the works of their native country, than later. Secondly, the labors of Primaticcio himself as architect scarcely or not at all contributed to the decline of the high Renaissance.

Had Primaticcio even built only his two chateaus, this would already have been sufficient to prove, that his appointment as superintendent was no really unjust preference. But another circumstance is added, which allows this to appear more clearly. If one considers, that with the exception of Jean Goujon, the five great French masters were only architects in the rather exclusive and almost tyrannical significance of Gothic and were not like the Italians (Palladio excepted) artists in the broader sense of the word, it is easily understood, that in a society like the one, which from the conditions of the period did not need to regret the Gothic, but which first of all experienced the need of harmonious grace, the more many-sided and warmer mode of design of the Italians entirely permitted him to appear especially suited, without injustice to others, for the highest position that Primaticcio occupied until the end of his life, except that something is known of the complaints of the natives.

The question would be asked in any case, why this highest office was not transferred to Lescot? This can be but partially answered by referring to Primaticcio's more general activity in art. He was a thorough artist, always prepared for work, while perhaps Lescot, of noble birth and position, experienced no desire for the disquiet, the frequent journeys and the other toils, that were connected with the office of superintendent.³⁸⁰

Note 380. Perhaps also the position of architect of the Louvre, i.e. of that chateau from whose donjon depended all the fiefs of France, was such as to endow him with a special rank. This position was not made subject to the superintendent, at least not during Lescot's lifetime; this last fact may indeed be explained by Lescot's especial merit.

To afford a better understanding of the function, that Primaticcio had to exercise as superintendent of the royal buildings, to throw more light upon his fitness for that office, and to make possible a correct decision concerning his creative part in several buildings under him, some extracts from the accounts of the royal buildings are given in the following.

a. In his patent of appointment of July 12, 1559, he is designated as master Francois Primatici, councillor and almo-

almoner in ordinary to the king, and as Abbe of S. Martin de Troyes. In consequence of his great experience in the art of architecture, it further states, of which he has afforded abundant evidence several times on different buildings, the king entrusts him with the inspection and the maintenance of all his buildings, further with the completion of all architectural undertakings already commenced, as well as with the charge and direction of all those, which he may hereafter undertake, -- with the exception of the Louvre. Likewise shall he complete the Tomb of king Francis I, make all contracts, and have all check measurements made, -- all this in the place of Philibert De l'Orme and of his brother Jean De l'Orme, with the same salary as those two together received, hence 1200 livres yearly.³⁸¹

Note 381. See Laborde, L. de. Comptes des Batiments du Roi. Paris. 1877-1880. Vol. 1. p. 334, 398, 401; Vol. 2. p. 14.

b. In the order for payment of Nov. 14, 1559, it is stated, that the buildings in Fontainebleau, S. Germain-en-Laye, La Muette in the forest of S. Germain, and others are placed under the charge and leadership (these two words include the technical part of the superintendence) of Primaticcio.³⁸²

Note 382. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 397.

c. By the patent from Francis II of July 17, 1559, is given to Primaticcio the "charge and superintendence" of all royal buildings, those begun as well as those to be rebuilt, with exception of the building of the Louvre. he further has to undertake the office of comptroller in conjunction with Francois Sannat.³⁸³ The payments that the comptroller had to make, show that among other things his work entirely corresponded to that of the modern verifier (verificateur) in France; for he had to revise the estimates of cost and the building accounts and to control the execution of the building. If a special higher official was associated with Primaticcio in this function of control, it is more evident, that the other and more comprehensive function of the latter was one of artistic design and supervision; this is moreover contained in the words, arrangement, conduct, direction and superintendence. It must indeed be admitted here, that the words arrangement and superintendence are constantly employed in an entirely differ-

different sense, that of administration, so that in case of many persons to whom such an office was entrusted, it is uncertain whether one has to do with actual architects, unless other and more decisive details are mentioned.

Note 383. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 401 et seq.

d. As an example of the two-fold sense in which the word "ordonnance" is employed, the following passage from the year 1569 may be given:-- "Other expenditure made by the present treasurer on the order (ordonnance) of master Francois Primaticcio de Boulogne, Abbe of S. Martin de Troye, almoner and superintendent of the buildings of his majesty, for the construction of a great gallery and pavilion built anew in his Chateau of S. Liger, and the masonry work there done under direction (ordonnance) of master Philibert De l'Orme, Abbe of Ivry.³⁸⁴" In the first case it signifies Primaticcio's order for payment, in the second De l'Orme's architectural design and arrangement.

Note 384. See Laborde. Vol. 2. p. 173.

Another appellation, which might lead to errors, is that of commissary general. In an account from Aug. 12, 1568 to Apr. 15, 1570, Primaticcio is designated as master Francoisque de Primaticcio de Bollongue, Abbe of S. Martin, Commissary General, in the matter of the said buildings,³⁸⁵ and likewise in the last account of the year 1576.³⁸⁶ Hence "Commissary" here appears to denote the same as superintendent of all the royal buildings; yet directly thereafter a Seigneur de Rosting is also mentioned as Commissary of all the buildings of the king, and indeed with the same yearly salary as Primaticcio, namely 1200 livres.³⁸⁶

Note 385. See Laborde. Vol. 2. p. 177, 197, 198.

Note 386. See Chronique des Arts. Paris. 1895. April 20.

If one now examines the before mentioned accounts in reference to the work of Primaticcio as architect, then appear at least the following with complete certainty as works designed and superintended by him:--

a. The Tomb Chapel (Mausoleum) of the Valois) at S. Denis, designated as Sepulchre of the Kings and Queens of France in the accounts.

b. The Tomb of Henry II therein.

c. The Monument to receive the heart of Henry II.

- d. That for the heart of Francis II.
- e. The garden hall in the queen's garden at Fontainebleau.
- f. Probably many other works in Fontainebleau, that may perhaps be indicated in the description of that Chateau.

On account of the incomplete and merely fragmentary character of the accounts under consideration, which we still possess, many works of Primaticcio are certainly not mentioned at all or in words, that permit belief in the authorship of a merely executing master. With the works not enumerated is a now also counted the beautiful rusticated gate, which was built in 1562 outside the moat, that then intersected the Court of the White Horse; this was later removed and now forms the ground story of the so-called Baptistry of Louis XIII, which serves as the entrance to the oval court. For the second can the apostle in the chapel at Anet be taken as proof, and which was painted in enamel at Limoges, and which from the accounts is held to be the design of Michel Rochetel.

The great activity of Primaticcio in the domain of internal decoration will be further described in the appropriate Chapter.

h. Sebastiano Serlio.

169. Course of his Life.

Sebastiano Serlio was born at Bologna and lived from 1475 till 1554. He was already 66 years old, when he emigrated to France and closed his life there 13 years later. Serlio was the first one, who published the monuments of ancient Rome and with them some works of Bramante. During an era like that of 1537 and 1540, when the eyes of all architects in Europe began always to be directed more strongly towards Rome, this fact sufficed to explain the epoch-making effect of these publications. They coincided with the advent of Serlio into France and with the beginning of the high Renaissance there. This alone suffices to explain the important impression made by Serlio upon many Frenchmen; but it must also afford opportunity to place his work in France in a clear light.

According to the thorough biography, which Charvet³⁸⁷ has devoted to the Bolognese architect and author, it will suffice in this place to discuss the question, whether as Palustre assumes, Serlio was a nullity, merely an incumbrance, or whe-

whether, as long believed, he exerted an actual influence upon his contemporaries in France.

Note 387. Charvet, L. *Sebastien Serlio*. Lyons. 1889.

Serlio came to France at the end of 1541. With his wife and children, he first received a dwelling in the Palace des Tournelles at Paris,³⁸⁸ and was immediately employed on the Palace at Fontainebleau. This appointment was made by the king on Dec. 27, 1541, under the designation of "Bastiannet Serlio, painter and architect from the country of Bologna". His office bore the title of "painter and architect in ordinary in the matter of his said edifices and buildings in the said place of Fontainebleau, for which the said lord has retained him". His annual salary was to be 400 livres, and he had 20 sous for diet, when he was on journeys of inspection.

Note 388. See *Sebastiani Serlii Bononiensis architectura liber septimus*. Frankfurt. 1575. p. 98.

On the ground of the office that Serlio held in Fontainebleau, there have been earnest attempts to attribute to him as many parts of the Chateau there as possible.³⁸⁹ of the portions now remaining, when one decides merely from the point of view of style, only the Grotto des Pins and the old portions of the gallery of Francis I, as well as of the court of fountains, can be designated as due to him. The accounts of the royal buildings nevertheless show, that these portions were mostly executed before the arrival of Serlio in Fontainebleau and therefore come from Rosso or Primaticcio. Just as little does the style of the peristyle in the oval court permit one to think, that Serlio conformed to French conditions. The architectural confession of faith of an Italian artist of 1540, especially of one such as Serlio, who was partly a theorist, does not permit the assumption of compromises, as were possible for the masters of the earlier generation, of the transition and early Renaissance periods. At that time any compromises of Serlio would have exhibited a different character from that expressed on the peristyle under consideration.

Note 389. By the baptismal register of the parish of Avon Fontainebleau, Charvet has determined the presence of Serlio in Fontainebleau on the following dates: Nov. 2, 1542, July 18, 1544, and Feb. 22, 1552 (1554 new style?). On the first

and last dates, his wife was a godmother; on the second Serlio himself a godfather. Nov. 14, 1557, his wife was so again; she is designated as the widow of the deceased master Sebastiano, and on a similar occasion in 1560 as Francoyse Pallande the Italian woman.

The well known pathetic and humble complaint of Serlio, that while he still dwelt continuously in Fontainebleau, he was not asked for the least advice,³⁹⁰ refers to the gallery of Henry II and to the alterations made in its intended arrangement in 1547, when De l'Orme was appointed superintendent. It does not entirely exclude the possibility, that between 1541 and 1547, during the life of Francis I, he may have still been entrusted with the same works in Fontainebleau. Had these been of any importance, Serlio would have hardly been silent, aside from his modesty; for he says much of what he would have done in place of the gallery of Henry II, had his advice been asked.

Note 390. See his Book VII, p. 96, 97. Original text.

The statements concerning Serlio to be found in the accounts of the royal buildings are very few. This valuable collection is moreover, as before stated, preserved to us in such uncommonly fragmentary condition, that entirely positive conclusions may be derived from them, but they never admit of negative conclusions, when these accounts are silent, unless these are based on definite facts from other sources. The little, that is stated in the accounts concerning Serlio, is the following.

He received on a day not more definitely stated (between 1541 and 1550) 96 livres, 12 sous and 6 d, for leather skins from the East, which he had purchased for Fontainebleau.

On a date not more definitely fixed, the painters Francois and Jean Dotier, Germain Musnier, Michel Rogetel, Barthelemy Dyminiato (da Miniato) and Battista Bagnacavallo were paid for painting figures on eight smaller doors, apparently of a small wardrobe in the cabinet of the king, "under the supervision and charge of master Sebastian Serlio, architect of the king".³⁹¹

Note 391. See Laborde. Vol. 1. p. 172-174, 190, 203-204; "for the work on the two small 'huissets' of cabinet work of a small wardrobe in the cabinet of the king".

In the later thorough description of the chateaus at Fontainebleau, St. Germain-en-Laye and Ancy-le-Franc, reference will be made to the influence exercised by Serlio on those buildings, as frequently asserted.

170. Architectural Works.

Of the buildings, which certainly were by Serlio, one at present is only able to specify the gateway of Hotel de Ferrara in Fontainebleau built by him, a round arched arcade with massive rustication and accompanied by two Tuscan half columns with entablature and pediment, the plain shafts of the columns are subdivided by four rusticated bands and connected with the bosses of the wall; the entablature is likewise plain and is intercepted by the five uppermost voussoirs; the three middle ones of these are treated in block form and extend up to beneath the cornice. The proportions and the fresh treatment of the rustication recall the latest manner of Bramante. The three great voussoir blocks were indeed a motive for likewise ascribing to Serlio the three rusticated arches of the Grotto des Pins, one of the few parts of the chateau at Fontainebleau, which actually have an Italian character; yet this is decidedly based on an error, since they originated before the arrival of Serlio, and as previously stated, were either by Rosso or Primaticcio.

After the death of Francis I in 1547 and as a result of the appointment of De l'Orme, Serlio lost his office, but he remained awhile at Fontainebleau in the House of the Cardinal of Ferrara and then went to Lyons, it is believed, in 1548 to the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este (of Ferrara). During his stay of six years there, among other work he prepared designs for a Chateau Romarino with four angle towers for southern France and for the "Loge du Change" at Lyons. But the latter and perhaps both designs were not executed.

In the year 1552, Serlio took part in the work of the decorations for the entrance of the Cardinal of Tournon into Lyons, when he was designated as "master Sebastiano Bolognese, Italian engineer".³⁹² He died in Fontainebleau in 1554, where he had just recently returned.

³⁹² Note 392. See Charvet. p. 91.

171. Influence of Serlio's Books.

171. Influence of Serlio's Works.

Indifferently whether the earlier views concerning Serlio's architectural work be correct or not, the influence of this master upon French architecture was in one respect very important, namely by his writings. Jean Goujon makes it expressly prominent in Martin's translation of Vitruvius, as already stated in Art. 139, that Serlio was the first one in France, who placed the instructions of Vitruvius in the proper light. Bernard Palissy only mentions thrice in his extremely interesting writings (1563) authors, who wrote on architecture, thus naming only Serlio and Vitruvius, the former once beside Du Cerceau. Yet more important is the evidence of Philibert De l'Orme, who prefers to speak of himself above all others, as it is well known. In the year 1567, he omits to give the representation of the Colosseum at Rome, that he had measured, since "master Sebastian Serlio had printed it in his book, where any one may see it with several other beautiful antiquities, yet with everything in very good arrangement. He was the first to give ~~xx~~ to the French by his books and drawings a knowledge of antique buildings and of several very beautiful designs, while he was an upright man, as I have known him, and of very good spirit, for having published and cheerfully given what he had measure, seen, and drawn after the antiquities; and as to the question, whether the measures are everywhere correct and legitimate, I refer to those with good judgment, since they have seen them in their places." 393

Note 393. See De l'Orme, Philibert. Le premier Tome d'Architecture. Book VII. Chap. 1. p. 202 v.

172. Nominal Influence on the Louvre.

Besides this more general influence exerted by Serlio through his writings, there is yet to be mentioned, that which proceeded from him toward the building of the Louvre. Claude Perrault, the builder of the colonnade there, says,³⁹⁴ that the influence of Serlio and his instructions were so useful to the French, that it made it possible for Lescot to present a design, that was preferred to that of Serlio. According to this, Serlio probably prepared a design for the Louvre, and that the fact that the design of Lescot pleased the king better than that of Serlio, is still no proof that the latter w

was not also a good work, or afforded opportunity to treat S Serlio disdainfully as a creating architect, as is done by many. What Rivoalen recently asserted of the influence of the illustrations in Serlio's book upon the architecture of Flanders and of England, is in the same way true of his influence upon many French masters just in the period of the commencing high Renaissance, where men finally went so far as to no longer translate the forms of the antique and of Bramante's architecture of Italy into capricious ideas, but they began to wish to prize them for their objective beauty. Likewise by the answering of questions, like those proposed by Goujon (See later the orders of columns and the Doric capital) and by direct instruction, such as he gave to Philander, Serlio likewise had opportunity to exert his influence.

Note 394. In Perrault, Cl. *Architecture générale de Vitruve, redite et abrégé*. Paris. 1674. -- He writes in the preface (see the Rev. gén. de l'Arch. 1887. p. 135), that when the king Francis I invited from Italy Sebastian Serlio, to whom he gave the charge of the buildings of Fontainebleau, our architects profited so well by his instruction, "that for the project of the Louvre, the design of a Frenchman, the Abbe de Clagny, "was preferred to the design of Serlio." As a marginal note, Perrault writes here; Jean Goujon, Parisian and M. Ponce.

Note 395. See Planat. Vol. 6. p. 357. (Art on English Renaissance).

1. Other Italian Masters.

173. Della Robbia.

Besides the three prominent architects previously mentioned, there are yet to be named some other masters coming from Italy.

1. Girolama della Robbia, member of the famous Florentine family of artists in terra cotta, came to France about 1527 and deserves mention on account of his labors in that country for at least 35 years, as well as for the various forms in which these occurred. Appointed by the king as sculptor with a salary of 240 livres, at first in company with Pierre Gadier from Tours and after his death with Gratian Francois, they executed as master masons and contractors the masonry and stonemason's work of Chateau Madrid in the Bois de

Boulogne. As sculptor and enameller to the king, he designed and executed the enamelled terra cotta decoration in the same Chateau; he undertook the execution of certain figures for the monuments for Henry II and for the heart of Francis I, designed by Primaticcio. How far this master may be regarded as the architect of the Chateau Madrid will be discussed later; reference is also made to the conograph mentioned below.³⁹⁶

Note 396. Cavalucci, J. & E. Molinier. Les Della Robbia et leurs Oeuvres. Paris. 1884.

174. Scibecq.

2. Master Francois Scibecq, called de Carpy, is designated as cabinet-maker in ordinary to the king, living at Paris in 1548, and as an artist in wood already in 1532 he had a yearly salary of 400 livres, so that he held a very important position. He was often employed at this time in Fontainebleau, in S. Germain, in Vincennes and on the Louvre, and the wooden paneling in the gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau was also by him. His contract is interesting, which was made in 1548 with Philibert De l'Orme concerning a pulpit and the balustrade between the choir and nave in the chapel of the Chateau at S. Germain, wherein it is stated, that the capitals are not to be Doric, as in the attached drawing, but must be Corinthian.

175. Domenico Fiorentino.

3. Domenico del Barbieri or Domenico Fiorentino,³⁹⁷ also known under the name of Ricoveri, is termed by Vasari the most capable of Rosso's assistants; he was a splendid draftsman and was employed in very varied ways at Fontainebleau, Meudon, and Joinville, but above all at Troyes. Just in case of this master does it appear how the school of Fontainebleau extended itself over other parts of France. In 1549, he combined with his son-in-law in executing the roodloft in Church S. Etienne at Troyes, which was considered his masterpiece, but was destroyed during the revolutionary period. In the succeeding year with Jean le Roux, called picard, he undertook for Joinville the Mausoleum of Claude de Lorraine, founder of the house of Guise, of which only two caryatids are now preserved in the Town Hall at Joinville.

Note 397. See Babeau, A. Dominique Florentin. Memoir read

at the Sorbonne. Paris. 1877; also Gazette des Beaux Arts. Vol. 28. p. 333.

j. Some French Masters.

For the period of the architecture of France under consideration, there are also to be mentioned some masters belonging to that country.

176. Philander.

1. Guillaume Philander or Philandrier, born in 1505 at Châtillon-sur-Seine, pupil of Serlio, became in 1533 a canon of the Cathedral at Rodez and worked on its completion, especially on the Coronation and on different parts of the interior; to him are ascribed the best houses at Rodez. In 1545 at Paris and in 1552 at Lyons, he published the translation of Vitruvius and died in 1563.

177. Chambiges.

2. Pierre Chambiges II was probably the son of Pierre Chambiges I and grandson of Martin Chambiges; it cannot be decided whether he was to be regarded more as architect or rather as contractor. He was designated as a carpenter in 1575 in relation to the possessions of his wife at S. Quentin; on the contrary, he was in 1599 and in 1602 a sworn official of the king in the office of masonry at Paris. He was further mentioned in the year 1613, and he died in 1615 at a great age. It is assumed that he could only be the same "Chambiche", who according to Sauval's statement commenced the little gallery of the Louvre. (1566 or 1567).

178. Masters of the Grappin Family and Others.

3. According to Palustre, the extremely interesting portions of the facade of the Chateau at Gisors must be by Robert Grappin, his sons Michel, Jacques, Jean I, and his grandson Jean II. By the same authority, to the Grappin family are also to be ascribed parts of the Churches at Vetheuil, Magny, S. Gervais and Montjavoult.

4. As builders of the tower over the intersection of Church S. Pierre at Coutances (Fig. 183), Palustre names Richard Vatin, Guillaume le Roussel and Nicolas Saurel. He likewise designates Nicolas Ribonnier as the architect of the Chateau at Sully and of that at Pailly.

5. The masters of the early Renaissance, Hugues Sambin (s

(see Art. 127) and Nicolas Bachelier (see Art. 128) must also be again mentioned here, since it is not to be assumed, that they attained to the bizarre style of the last years of their lives without having passed through a severe phase; in this style Bachelier indeed produced (1555) the splendid Hotel d'Assezat at Toulouse.

6. According to an inscription of the year 1560, Jean de Beaujeu appears to have been architect of the facade of the Cathedral at Auch.

7. Finally, in accordance with the time, mention must be made in this place of the works of Bernard Palissy; yet from their character, they will only be described later.

3. Course of Development and Character of the high Renaissance.

179. Tendencies.

The general characteristics of the high Renaissance have already been given in Art. 135. It now remains to say something of its course of development, and also concerning the phenomena, that served as the means of its evolution, the paths through which it passed, and finally about the influence of the high Renaissance upon the later architecture of France.

In every historical description and artistic estimation of a style, the portrayal of the period of its highest perfection presents special difficulties. One is here continually confronted by the greatest masters and the most perfect works. To rightly estimate both, in so far as this is possible, in order to express in words what is first of all the problem of the formative arts, -- it would in the first place be necessary, that one should be himself a great master or one of equal birth, himself a creative spirit. How seldom this occurs, perhaps even never, needs not be said. The difficulties are now still greater, since we stand in a phase of predominating subjective conception of art, and because this intellectual tendency has more labor as a rule, to be just to the masters and works of that highest period of bloom. Both these blossom only when the free creative fire of the artist is entirely in harmony with the inmost convictions and inspiration, intimately united with the eternal objective laws, thus freely disclaiming a certain art and manner of freedom with the most

complete convictions, and acquiesces in a limitation of its own ideas and fancies in favor of the highest aims.

Note 398. See Fig. 32, a reproduction after Israel Sylvestre. Vol. 1. p. 159.

The portrayal of the highest works accomplished by the French architecture of the Renaissance naturally is only found in the whole of the present volumes. Therefore only the chief tendencies and characteristics can be mentioned here, that are necessary for a better orientation now.

Among the phenomena, that served as means or tools for the development of the high Renaissance, there are to be made prominent:--

a. The more native tendency developed from the early Renaissance itself.

b. The tendency brought from Italy in complete form by Frenchmen, like the group of the five great architects.

c. The school of Fontainebleau in which are found two tendencies, to be carefully distinguished, namely:--

1. The entirely free and capricious tendency of the internal decoration, bearing in itself many evidences of decadence.

2. The severe tendency of Primaticcio in architecture itself and in its development: the writings of Serlio and others contributed substantially to this.

These three main tendencies act contemporaneously beside each other. Chronologically, and especially in reference to the internal decoration, the school of Fontainebleau exists complete. As a moral or psychological lever, it was certainly effective in a far greater degree, than is often believed today.

Yet another phenomenon must be mentioned, namely:--

d. The tendency of Bernard Palissy, which also exhibits elements of Huguenot esthetics. It is so unique in its way, that it will even be difficult to find for it an entirely appropriate designation. This tendency did not contribute to the formation what is generally understood by the words high Renaissance, but it belongs to a complete portrayal of the entire picture and of the artistic intellectual tendency of that period. For it is of especial importance to clearly represent, that even in this phase of the purest and most inte-

intensive Italian-Latin influence, there prevailed an opposed tendency, whose existence is of very great value for the better understanding of the later phases of French architecture. Even if this were only extremely weak, it would be so much more worthy of consideration, because it was caused by a personality as Bernard Palissy at that time, then unique in French art. The art tendency exhibited by him in his unfortunately destroyed works and in part still more in his writings, is so peculiar, that it alone equals the programme of an entire school. Even more, his ideals form one of the extremely rare expressions concerning an esthetic style, that from its internal nature must be termed Protestant-Huguenot.

Note 399. Fig. 33 is a reproduction from Berty's *La Renaissance Monumentale en France* etc. Vol. 1. Paris. 1864.

180. Further native Development of the Early Renaissance.

In the native art tendency one sees, so to speak, how on French soil the early Renaissance was transformed into the high Renaissance, and the latter was derived from the former. It first of all here concerns how the proportions of the supporting parts of the building became ever more severe and were represented in the sense of the antique columnar orders. The masters, who were busied in this way, must indeed be considered as artists, who were entirely entrusted with the forms of the style of Francis I, and who now also made the antique and the Italian high Renaissance their own, whether this was in Italy itself or by means of Italians, who had come to France.

As an example of this tendency is presented the ground story of the Hotel de Ville at Paris (Fig. 32).³⁹⁸ It is unknown to me whether there exists in France a still earlier example of so pure an order of columns with especially beautiful swelled and fluted shafts, as that developed here after 1532 by Boccador. The columns, which Lescot had begun 15 years later to construct in the court of the Louvre, are indeed treated more classically in their capitals, but scarcely more beautifully. The arcades of Boccadoro also have beautiful proportions and one may see by the mouldings, that the master of this architecture had learned nothing in France.⁴⁰⁰

Note 400. To console himself for the fact, that on the Ho-

Hotel de Ville the authorship of Boccadoro has survived the attacks of persons holding his views, but because he is unable by his theories to explain these forms used by an Italian, Palustre asks (in *L'Architecture de la Renaissance*. Paris. 1892. p. 229) whether Boccadoro may have first studied architecture in France?

Note 401. Fig. 34 is a reproduction from Berty. Vol. 2.

One should then conclude from this, that if Domenico da Cortona employed less mature forms and mouldings on his window pediments, this was not because he was unacquainted with them, but because the public taste still demanded the fanciful forms of the period of Francis I.

An entirely similar treatment of the facade with projecting columns is shown by a contemporary short facade in the former Chateau at Chantilly,⁴⁰² (built between 1527 and 1532), as well as by the beautiful court in the Chateau at Mesnieres (in Normandy).

Note 402. Represented in Du Cerceau, J. *Les plus excellents Bastiments de France*. Vol. 2. Paris. 1579; also in Geymüller. *Les Du Cerceau etc.* p. 223.

A greater progress is shown by the Chateau at Bournazel. (Fig. 33).³⁹⁹ If its different parts be compared with each other (Figs. 33, 104, 237), it may be seen, that a development of the high Renaissance from early Renaissance ideas also occurred here. In the northern side of the court represented in Fig. 33, the forms are already altogether those of the high Renaissance, but on the contrary the proportions are still depressed and heavy.

A similar appearance may be observed on the facades of the former Chateau Madrid near Paris (Fig. 31), especially in the forms of the windows, ever becoming purer upwards, and similarly on the court facade of the old Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye (Fig. 85), although in an entirely different spirit, and on a portal of the Chateau at Assier.

Note 403. Fig. 35 is a reproduction from Kodier, Taylor, De Cailloux (*De Gesema, De Courcelles and others*). *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France*. Paris. 1820-1863. Vol. on Dijon.

Similar tendencies follow in the domain of church architec-

architecture. In this direction, reference is made to Figs. 151, 152, 158, 177, 178, 181 and 183, especially if the interiors there represented be compared with the exteriors, much like the Gothic. Finally may also be considered in this sense the tower at Bressuire (Fig. 312), the middle and upper parts of the facade of Church S. Michel at Dijon and of the Church at Luzarches.

It even lies in the nature of this tendency of the "growing" high Renaissance on French soil, that it truly and frequently bears the character of a transitional phase, at least at its climax, already mentioned under the name of the style of Marguerite of Valois. If reference be made here to other steps of such a transition, this is done in order to more plainly emphasize the various sources, that have contributed to the development of the high Renaissance, and to call the entire attention of the reader to the lack of homogeneity in its character.

In order to better show how the upward aspiring tendency acted at the same time as the tendency of the school of Fontainebleau, already tending by caprice toward decadence, that of the internal decoration, the illustrations of Chapel S. Romain (Fig. 34⁴⁰¹) were reserved for this place, and which were previously mentioned in Art. 134. The comparison of Figs. 34 and 35⁴⁰³ shows how great was the difference between two contemporary style tendencies. There can scarcely be conceived a greater contrast, than that between the noble elevation and the fresh inspiration of the early Renaissance master of Chapel S. Romain, who had now, so to speak, entered entirely into the high Renaissance, on the one hand, and the bizarre forms of the assuredly contemporary Well (of 1543) at Dijon on the other, that belongs to the tendency now in the lead.

181. Italian Tendency introduced in complete Form.

Aside from the influence of the school of Fontainebleau, which will in nowise be lessened, one may assume that the chief contest, which assured in this period the victory of the high Renaissance in France, was fought out by those Frenchmen like the five great masters, who had gone to Italy themselves and had remained there long enough to return to their native land as Italian-trained architects (chiefly in the last mann-

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manner of Bramante). The principal works of these five important artists was previously mentioned; it suffices here to emphasize the varied character of their works by a few examples. With this purpose, let there be recalled merely the importance of the two chateaus of De l'Orme and of Primaticcio, that at S. Maur-les-Fosses and the one at Ancy-le-Franc.

Among the Frenchmen, who after 1530 wandered to Italy and especially to Rome, there were those who did not care for the last manner of Bramante, so little known to us, but who were also interested in the earlier works of this master, as for example, in his cancellaria at Rome.⁴⁰⁵ Fig. 37⁴⁰⁶ certainly exhibits on the upper story of the small House at Arcueil the influence exerted by the style of that Roman building. Likewise may one decide concerning the flat pilasters of the second story in Fig. 38,⁴⁰⁷ which represents that wing in the court of Hotel d'Assezat at Toulouse, which extends along the street, while in the ground story the architect has resorted to the last manner of Bramante for bolder relief.

Note 405. Recently in an erroneous way, it has been attempted to take away from Bramante the authorship of the Cancellaria.

Note 406. Reproduction from Sauvageot. Vol. 1.

Note 407. Reproduction from Berty. Vol. 1.

Figs. 144 and 327 present other examples of the same tendency, to which also belong portions of Church S. Pierre at Tonnerre, even if the latter may be of later date. The House beside the Pavilion of Rue du Tabourg at Orleans rather permits in the treatment of its windows the conjecture of a model like Palace Vendramin-Galergi at Venice. In Fig. 39,⁴⁰⁸ the two first buildings on the right show mature compositions of the high Renaissance, whose pure style is clearly prominent among other buildings, since they either still belong to the early Renaissance or represent less happy attempts to independently design "antique" buildings. In the building farthest to the right may be seen in the upper loggia reminiscences of the forms of vestibules in some designs for S. Peter at Rome.

Note 408. Reproduction from the Volume marked:-- Ed. 5.

g-res in the Cabinet des Estampes at Paris.

The earliest work of the true high Renaissance known to me,

which was produced by a French master, is the Tomb of Breze designed by Jean Goujon, partly executed under his supervision, which was begun in 1535. From a somewhat earlier date came some of the internal decorations at Fontainebleau superintended by Rosso and Primaticcio; some of these were already gilded in 1534. To the year 1536 belongs the House at Lyons (Fig. 75), that Philipert De l'Orme built in the year of his return from Italy. The chapel on the northern side of the Cathedral at Vannes, first mentioned by Palustre (See Art. 50), must have already been completed in 1537. The Fountain S. Lazare at Autun was constructed in 1540-1543.

If among all the works of the high Renaissance one seeks for those creations, which possess in the highest degree those peculiarities, that form the aim of the Renaissance itself, i.e., perfection in both the harmony as well as in the beauty of proportions, of members, and of details, it seems to me that one will always finally feel drawn to Lescot's court of the Louvre. This is superior to all else by the general composition and the harmony between the architecture and the sculpture by Jean Goujon, both ornamental as well as that of figures. In a more modest degree, but perhaps with a yet more delicate harmony, the same two masters worked together on the Fountain of Innocents at Paris; Fig. 40 ⁴⁰⁹ exhibits the original arrangement of this fountain, whereon the loggia, intended for festal entrances, properly plays the principal part. A higher degree of development characterizes the works of Goujon already mentioned in Art. 140, which formerly were to be found in Ecouen, and are now transferred to the chapel of the Chateau at Chantilly, the altar and in greater measure the chapel grille with its gate.

Note 409. Reproduction from Blondel, J. *Architecture Française*. Paris. 1752-1756. Vol. 3. p. 308.

182. Severer Antique Tendency.

Here and there are to be found works requiring especial mention, since they are proofs, that some masters preferred to adhere more closely to the antique. This especially appears chiefly in the use of the so-called *thermae* motives, consisting of two columns supporting an entablature over three intercolumniations, above which extends a single round arch, partly

to relieve the loading, partly as an architectural motive.

A very pretty example of the employment of this motive is afforded by the wardrobes of the baptismal chapel in the Cathedral at Troyes. (Fig. 41 ⁴¹⁰). Its occurrence is here the more striking, since it is here introduced at so small a scale, indeed for love of the esthetic principle found in its combination of forms. This is an attempt to solve the so difficult problem, to produce an elevation with fixed subdivisions with antique elements within an arch, as this was frequently attained by tracery in the Gothic style in such a beautiful way.

Note 410. From a photograph by Lancelot at Troyes.

On one of the court sides of Hotel de Mauroy at Troyes is made in a similar spirit and with tolerably good results, an attempt at a triple subdivision of the windows by means of columns above which rise arches. In church S. Martin at Laon, but especially in the Cathedral there, several chapel grilles, among which is that of the baptismal chapel (1555), exhibit various and in part very pretty variations of this employment of colonnades at small scale.

Another and certainly later example of the *thermae* motive, that still belongs to the time of Henry IV, may be seen in Fig. 42 ⁴¹¹, the plan of a chapel for the Louvre; this occurs on a design for connecting the Tuileries with the Louvre and was by the same author, after whose design was executed the former Pavilion de Flore.

Note 411. From a design in the Collection Pestauilleur, now in the Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. Vol. ve, Fol. 147-148.

Finally, it may be stated, that the antique tendency under consideration, already touched on under Bullant in Art. 148, is expressed in varied character on the entrance gateway of the Chateau at La Tour d'Aigues represented in Fig. 19 and on the song of rejoicing illustrated by Fig. 311. Fig. 43 ⁴¹² exhibits this antique tendency in detail, and a return to it will be made later.

Note 412. From a photograph without name.

To make possible a better survey of the phase of the high Renaissance in question, the following chateaus may be named.

Vallery, built for Marshal S. Andre, compared with the Louvre by Du Cerceau.

Mesnieres; the rear wing of the court, 1540-1546.

Oiron, the continuation in the period 1542-1550 by Claude.

Bournazel, about 1545, one of the most complete chateaus of the 16 th century.

Palustre further names the following chateaus of the time of Henry II:--

Landifer.

Graves, built by Guillaume Tissorques, pupil of Baduel.

Pibrac, erected about 1540 in the style of the school of T Toulouse.

Uzes, with a facade ascribed to Philibert De l'Orme; it was rather the work of a Provençal.

Rouissillon, built by Cardinal Bourbon.

In the Spanish free County, Palace Granvelle at Besancon, 1532-1540, already with the orders superposed.

Finally, the interesting group of Hotels at Toulouse, especially Hotel d'Assezat.

183. Church Architecture.

For ecclesiastical architecture, in France, the conditions at the time of the high Renaissance were as unfavorable as possible. The religious wars already cast their shadows before them. The inspiration of Gothic architecture had also already provided for all needs, and it is comprehensible, that here in the fatherland of Gothic more than elsewhere, men held fast to the arrangements of the latter. Therefore far more than in Italy, the conditions were lacking, which would have made it possible for the high Renaissance to endeavor to realize what it was capable of in the service of religion, as well as a style for interiors.

We see no single building, that even most distantly may be compared with Church S. Eustache at Paris, belonging to the early Renaissance. Those which exist are chiefly only interesting to architects and then merely as general undertakings, not as true works of religious architecture. Most are chapels, and if they are domical structures, as a rule they repeat one of the subordinate domed interiors in one of Bramante's designs for Church S. Peter in Rome, whether directly taken from these or from other Italian architectural works, themselves imitated from parts of these designs. Still many interesting phenomena in this domain are described in the following;

for a church facade, reference may be made here only to that of the Cathedral of Auch with two towers above a vestibule.

By far the most beautiful of these domed buildings was the Mausoleum, which Primaticcio erected after 1560 in S. Denis, and which is known under the name of Sepulchre of the Valois; this was previously mentioned in Art. 50 and will be described more fully later. The plan of the upper story is here repeated in Fig. 44⁴¹³ and the section through the structure in Fig. 45.⁴¹³ (Also see Fig. 213.

Note 413. Reproduced from *Oeuvre de Jean Marot*. Vol. 1. 1 104 & 105.

184. Details.

In the matter of details, the severer tendency strove to shape them in such forms as are connected with the colonnades and arcades of the orders of Roman architecture and of the Italian high Renaissance. Yet examples are not wanting, which are more stimulating to the imagination of architects, and in which the endeavor is made to translate an arrangement peculiar to Gothic or early Renaissance into forms occurring in the high Renaissance. Thus for example, the machicolations and a balustrade in the Chateau at La Courtiniere have occasioned the interesting treatment shown in Fig. 43.

185. Free Tendency of the School of Fontainebleau.

The well in the court of the Prison at Dijon, originating in the year 1543 and represented in Fig. 35, shows that the school of Fontainebleau did not remain without any influence at all, as believed in many places. It exhibits the entire series of animated and bizarre forms, of capricious fancy and love for overrich ornamentation, which compose the character of the cartouches and the borders in the gallery of Francis I and those of the internal decoration, which come from the school mentioned. It may likewise be seen from Fig. 68, and especially from Fig. 359, how in the church at Tillieres between 1543 and 1546, the same cartouche style occurs in the midst of a still half Gothic decoration of the vaults.

Another and earlier example (1540) of the entirely similar capricious Italian cartouche style is to be found on the very ruinous Well, that Jean Goujon constructed in the angle of the facade of Church S. Maclou at Rouen.⁴¹⁴ This well, compa-

compared with Fig. 187, the altar in the Church at Ecouen, presents for Goujon the same appearance, that one likewise meets with Primaticcio, namely, that the same master may be very severe in architecture proper, and at the same time in works of chiefly decorative nature, he may yield to a rich and capricious imagination.

Note 414. A. de Montaignon (in Gazette des Beaux Arts. Vol. 30. p. 382) believes, that since the execution was so rude from the beginning, that aside from the very carefully written documents, this fountain could scarcely be attributed to Jean Goujon. Yet only the ruinous condition has given opportunity for this belief. I have still seen a bit of the enclosing moulding thereon, which is sufficient to do honor to Jean Goujon.

186. Severe Tendency of the School of Fontainebleau.

The architectural monuments belonging to the severe tendency of the school of Fontainebleau were previously discussed in Art. 166. Those are the three principal creations of Primaticcio: the chateaus at Ancy-le-Franc and at Montceau-en-Brie, as well as the Sepulchre of the Valois at St Denis, and further on the external architecture of the gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau, the same elements, which determine the later character of the court of the fountains. The combination of severity in the external architecture found here as in the architectural borders in the interior with a much freer procedure in the decorative portions forms just one of the characteristics in French architecture in several of its phases, that are yet to be brought under consideration.

It was not given to every master to manage happily and animatedly the simple and severest classical forms. Whoever does not regard the meaning innate in every form, but will experiment freely with such completed and fixed forms, can be but half satisfied; in this is always to be sought a danger in the use of classical forms. Fig. 36 presents an example of how a master, who had more admiration for the new forms than understanding of their nature, employed them in the solution of a new problem. Awkwardness in the classical period no longer possessed the definite charm, which frequently dwelt in the naive experiments of the early Renaissance.

187. Further Tendencies of the Style.

To complete the representation of the diversity in the phenomena of the high Renaissance, those special style tendencies are to be finally named, on account of their importance, which are to be combined in Chapter 7 under the following names.

- a. The Ideal architecture.
- b. The Neo-Rustica.
- c. The Colossal Order.
- d. The series of pediments as a crown for a facade.
- e. The composition with the "rhythmic bay" of Bramante.
- f. The brick architecture.

4. Influence of the High Renaissance upon the later Architecture of France.

188. The High Renaissance as the Aim of the Renaissance.

In the preceding, the high Renaissance is designated as that phase of the style, which is the fulfilment of the end pursued from the beginning of the Renaissance, either consciously or unconsciously. In it terminate all the different tendencies, that have already been mentioned. On the other hand, it will appear, that in this phase lie all the sources of the later successive tendencies and phases of French architecture until the present day. The high Renaissance is like the treasury of all the attainments of so joyous, so undoubting, so animated and effervescent a form of endeavor, the early or young Renaissance.

189. The High Renaissance as a Source of the later Development.

In the high Renaissance and since the year 1550, -- perhaps only since the year 1560, -- exists complete, one may well say, the instruments of French architecture until the present day, -- certain applications to iron construction alone excepted. Only in the spirit in which this instrument is handled, further in the emphasizing of certain of its elements or in the more or less complete development of the one or the other of the three chief intellectual tendencies, and finally in the proportions in which these elements are combined, are the later architectural phases following the high Renaissance originated, and do they differ from each other.⁴¹⁵ This is ind-

indeed an important fact, not sufficiently and perhaps not at all made prominent. It contributes in a high degree to illustrate the circumstances of the connection in the later architectural phases in France.

Note 415. This explains the difficulty, to which Destailleur once called my attention, in sometimes distinguishing from each other, which are common to phases in different periods.

Such a conception cannot appear so very strange. The capacity for producing usually a true "climax" in any art tendency, i.e., a relative maximum, presupposes such a considerable amount of artistic talent and of intellectual power, that it is only logical, when one sees matured art principles strongly influence the succeeding periods during a longer or shorter time, whether in the same form, or as forces that produce definite contrasts.

190. Divergent Effects of the two principal Tendencies.

The later and new successive phases result, when more closely considered, from the divergent effects of the two great principal tendencies in the architecture of the high Renaissance, whose remains are presented in Art. 87 as one of the most interesting phenomena of French architecture. With a kind of regular alternation prevails first the more severe and then again the more free tendency. The two currents, which already existed in the school of Fontainebleau, nevertheless again stand in the most intimate connection with the two great currents, which are to be plainly recognized in Italy itself; the severer, led by Bramante, and the freer, introduced by Michelangelo. Both currents, so to speak, may be regarded as the branches of the same stream of the history of civilization.

191. Subordinate Tendencies.

Besides these two main currents of architecture proper, there are also subordinate currents, similar to the side branches or canals of rivers, and which flow in the same direction. Their effect especially extends to sculpture and painting; but thereby they affect not only the decoration but also the entire spirit in the conception and treatment of the architecture itself.

e. Late Renaissance.

e. Late Renaissance.

(Style of Charles IX and Henry III).

About 1570-1595.

192. Origin.

Just as the development and maturity of the French Renaissance had been caused by the fact, that the early Renaissance had ever become more completely permeated by the clear, beautiful and regular forms and principles of Bramante's Italo-Antique architecture, just so arose the "Late Renaissance of the 16th century", the freer and in part more capricious phase of the Renaissance, or also the period of partial and temporary decay. All these statements are correct; for now was the high Renaissance ever more and more imbued with a predominating "free conception of art", such as was to be observed in the school of Fontainebleau, and which was termed in the preceding pages the free style or that of internal decoration. One frequently recalls the character of the works of Galeazzo Alessi at Milan.

193. Criticism.

In the criticism of the freer and later phase of an art period, one is exposed to a twofold danger: first, that in the name of regularity one may condemn expressions of artistic freedom, that are not only entirely justified, but have also actually created beautiful art works; secondly, the danger that from the point of view of the precious gift of artistic freedom, one attempts to justify ideas, feelings, solutions, and forms, that only exhibit artistic feebleness, impotence, bad taste, moral and artistic errors. In a word, one too easily confuses freedom and decadence; one easily condemns too quickly new elements, that might be the guarantee and the prelude of a new, even if a different climax of art.

In this new phase likewise is French architecture a faithful reflection of the political and moral life of that period, at least in certain of its phenomena. A brief glance at the history of the time is therefore appropriate.

1. Historical Review.

194. The Religious Wars.

The late Renaissance, or the last phase of the first period of development in French art, is the epoch of the religious w

wars. The latter began in the year 1562 with the massacre of Vassy, and scarcely came to an end with the taking of Paris in 1594. Thus France preceded Germany with the type of a more than thirty years' war. Concerning its course will be given a few brief statements from French writers, especially from Henri Martin.⁴¹⁶

Note 416. Martin, H. *Histoire de France* etc. 4th edition. Vols. 9 & 10. Paris. 1856-1860.

Martin writes:--"The character of the last Valois and of their mother was the one real activity of the intellect and of the imagination in the midst of the ruins of every principle and of all morality, as in Italy during the period of decadence. -- Catherine had every attribute of the intellect, combined with every vice of the heart". Catherine, almost seventy, died on Jan. 5, 1589, a few days after the murder of the Guises.

As long as Catherine lived, the art of the Renaissance continued at a certain elevation, and her part in the building of the Tuileries will be mentioned later. Her son Charles IX possessed from birth the most splendid gifts of intellect and of imagination, and he was less inclined toward vice than most of his family. He had a strong love for the arts of form, as well as for music and poetry; his own poems exhibited more taste and naturalness than those of Ronsard. A truly shocking training had debased his entire moral feeling, and "he suffered from the fiendish influence of his mother".

Martin further says:-- "Taste, art and literature remained on the surface of this obscene chaos. Henry honored the poet Ronsard, and like his mother required the arts to prostitute themselves to his vices. His court was a mixture of bigotry and of loathsome immorality, combined with a remnant of chivalry, tainted with vice, yet bold, thirsting for adventure, even to weariness. Under Henry III, everything was a lie; to the mind, the heart, the judgment; his customs were childish and capricious even to extravagance; they betrayed monstrous inclinations; the caprices of an aimless and ruined power of imagination prevented him from showing persistence in any plan. Nothing in the history of France presents the slightest analogy to the court of Henry III. One must recur to the most

demoralized period of Roman antiquity to find such a mixture of excess and turbulence, of delirium and bloodthirsty levity. The court had become a focus of prostitution and at the same time a den of assassins. Likewise in the royal army existed a frightful anarchy. Its pay was withheld; therefore it devastated the country in an even more merciless way than the foreign troops of the Huguenots. The finances of the Valois were exhausted to such a degree, that they could neither maintain the unfinished palaces, support the artists, nor encourage the arts." Henry III gave to a favorite the bishoprics of Grenoble and of Amiens, "so that he might make his profits thereon". He sold the former for 30,000 francs, and the latter was purchased for 40,000 francs by a court lady, to sell again at a profit.

2. Diversity of Tendencies of the Style.

195. Beginning of the Decadence.

The assertion of Destailleur, that the decadence in art began with the appointment of Primaticcio as superintendent in 1559, seems to be not quite correct. This opinion comes from the time when it was believed, that Primaticcio only worked in the overloaded and capricious style of the cartouches at Fontainebleau, and when it was not known, that he had also pursued a severe tendency, especially in the domain of architecture. It would be more correct to say, that a current of decadence had commenced much earlier, namely with the beginning of the school of Fontainebleau (soon after 1531). This movement began in Italy approximately with the death of Raphael, and especially with the exaggeration of certain forms already occurring in the Loggias of the Vatican at Rome. But in architecture proper, the Tuileries of De l'Orme, commenced in 1564, already contain many elements of caprice, while the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis by Primaticcio, commenced in 1560, is one of the buildings of the entire Renaissance in France, most severe in its style.

196. Overloading of Forms.

One of the first ways, that contributed to the corruption of the pure style, was the overloading with capricious forms. It is again Philibert De l'Orme, who affords an example of this in the Tuileries. Here occur (Fig. 47⁴¹⁷) two or three pediments inserted in each other, as Michelangelo employed on

the doorway of the Laurenziana at Florence, in the original design for the attic-like half story. On this side of the court further appear the window parapets furnished with iron ear-like hooks at the sides, as if suspended. The window lintel, which is twice as high as the architrave, cuts into the latter together with the frieze. The entablature above the doorway is apparently concealed, but is really intersected by an inscribed tablet extending its entire height.

Note 417. From an original drawing by J. Du Cerceau in the British Museum at London.

197. Deterioration of Imagination.

A second reason for degeneration in art is to be sought in the exaggeration and in the overgrowth of the imagination. The real intellectual activity and the imaginative power of the last Valois and of their mother may have contributed to this phenomenon, or may have caused it. Taste for the beautiful may scarcely be retained in the midst of an extraordinary immorality, which finally misled and debased the heart.

Among the engravings of the elder Du Cerceau, several compositions and series afford an especially favorable opportunity for observing the ever increasing invasion of the high Renaissance by this tendency of the late Renaissance. The overgrowth of the imagination manifests itself in many of his drawings and engravings by the superfluous number of members, by their overrich or unquiet, even tasteless treatment, by the disregard of scale between the different members in reference to their original purpose, and also frequently by the great number of animals and human forms, which in more or less constrained poses fulfil structural or ornamental functions, by the prevalence of fanciful animal figures, and by the unnatural positions of the latter and of the figures of men. Even offensive are the errors of the imagination in a series of designs for bedsteads, which belong to the last period of the elder Du Cerceau. The original and normal forms, that may be deduced from a "structural" bed, are too completely abandoned in favor of forms, which represent animal creations in unnatural positions.

An unpleasing and exaggerated eccentricity is likewise to be seen in a design, which the elder Du Cerceau prepared for

the semicircular building, that was to be erected on the terrace below the Chateau at Verneuil-sur-Oise between two small pavilions.

One of the fields, in which the deterioration of the imagination first appears, is that of the cartouches. Their scale was exaggerated; the number of their projecting, angular or scrolled points became greater and more complicated; two or even three cartouches were frequently placed about or over each other etc.

Even in the great Palissy, severely moral and animated by the reformed Christianity, is expressed the tendency of the imagination, even more in him than in any other. Yet his imaginative forms must bear as much as possible the character of "natural wonders", just as his reverence for nature as the creation of God, permitted him to employ realistically in his decorative works objects directly shaped after nature, such as fishes, plants, shells etc.

Already in the year 1563, Palissy writes;⁴¹⁸ "I know that every error, that has become a custom, every delusion and every folly, is held to be a principle and a virtue; but I will not permit myself to be influenced thereby, and I will in no wise be an imitator of my predecessors, except in those things according to the appointment of God. I see such great abuses and ignorance in all arts, that it appears as if all order had been perverted for the most part".

Note 418. In *La Recepte veritable. La Rochelle. 1564. Paris. 1880.*

198. Early Appearance of Eccentricity.

The bizarre already appeared in several cases at a tolerably early time in the works of the high Renaissance, the treatment of whose details is otherwise sharp and good. This appears to be a peculiarity, that is exhibited by a group of buildings at Toulouse, that apparently bears the character of Nicolas Bachelier; bizarre and richly animated decorative arrangements are executed in sharp and beautifully treated details.

The windows of Hotel Lasbordes at Toulouse, overloaded with animated, capriciously bizarre hermes figures, may be partly placed in the time of Puget, if the details and the character

of the treatment would not indicate the middle of the 16th century. Fig. 47⁴¹⁹ shows, how on this building are employed the bizarre enclosures of the school of Fontainebleau on the external forms, as for example on the windows, where they compose an entirely capricious mixture of decorative forms and figures.

Note 419. From a photograph by Miesement in Paris.

In other cases, this is eccentricity of certain structural members and ornamental arrangements, which crowds itself into a facade, severely designed for the main part, as for example, the hermes figures and orders of the former Maison Blanche at Gaillon. (Fig. 248).

199. Less severe Proportions.

In very many compositions by Du Cerceau, alike in the drawings and in the engravings, one recognizes in the elongated female forms⁴²⁰ and in the garlands of fruits employed, treated in a degenerate mannerism in the spirit of Giovanni da Udine, the influence of the Italians in Fontainebleau and an inclination toward the dropping of severe proportions. The design of Du Cerceau, the fatter, for the gallery of the Chateau at Verneuil-sur-Oise (Fig. 48⁴²¹) exhibits in the coupled caryatids the shocking exaggeration of the human figure to even 10 heads in height, which was then much favored, and further a colossal lion in the circular pediment above them, which is in no sympathetic scale with the former. Also should be mentioned further the facades of Du Cerceau on the Chateau at Charleval (Fig. 119) with their hermes figures beside the colossal order, and extending through one and a half stories.

Note 420. The irksome nymphs of Benvenuto Cellini at Fontainebleau were equally stiff and long-legged, and they were finished in 1544.

Note 421. From Du Cerceau, J. Les plus excellents Bastiments de France etc. Paris. Vol. 1. 1576.

200. Sharper Accentuation of Contrasts.

In this late period of the Renaissance further appears the endeavor to more sharply emphasize contrasts. As a first pertinent example may be mentioned the inner side of Du Cerceau's front wing in the outer court of the Chateau at Charleval (Fig. 120), where the arrangement of doorways, arcades, windows and

niches in the alternating system of two different bays connected together by a colossal order scorns all horizontal homogeneity. Further is cited the arrangement of the rusticated voussoirs in the lintels and round arches of the windows and niches, producing an animated contrast, in Du Cerceau's design for the Chateau at Charleval. (Fig. 132). Lastly is recalled the rich City Hall at Arras (1572), which possesses in the third story twisted columns, overrich dormer windows and triple windows in the middle building, that extend higher than the cornice of the entablature of the intermediate piers.

201. Permanence of good Peculiarities.

Beside such results of exaggerated caprice, which were adapted to lead to decadence, it is only just to also allude to the existence of indications of progress. Thus for example, the composition of the ground plan and the general design of the Chateau at Charleval by Du Cerceau are by far the most complete, which had then been produced, and it is indeed striking, that the last known of Du Cerceau, the latter, exhibits a firm adherence to the most severe tendency in art, namely the appearance of his "Livre des Edifices antiques Romains" in 1584. (See Art. 162).

An entire portion of the composition is sometimes entirely kept within severe forms and good detail, while other parts are composed with freer elements. An example of such mixture is to be found in Toulouse on the doorway of the garden facade of a house in Rue Fermat (Fig. 49⁴²²); in spite of the indeed somewhat bizarre and capricious enclosure of the oval window, the elevation is animated, yet not without a certain fineness of some lines and refinement of certain forms. Especially individual is the animated elevation of the Tower of Corduan, kept in the masses in the spirit of the early Renaissance, but whose subdivision is conceived in the forms of the high Renaissance, while in the details of overloading here, and the caprice in certain proportions of the pilasters to each other, is betrayed the late Renaissance. (Fig. 314).

Note 422. From Doly's *Motifs Historiques d'Architecture* etc. Paris. 1869.

202. Other Examples.

Finally, the following chateaus and other buildings belong-

belonging to the period of Charles IX and Henry III, are mentioned as examples.

- a. Chateau at Kerjean, also a fortified chateau.
- b. Chateau at Lanquais, a magnificent example of the time of Charles IX (according to Palustre).
- c. Chateau at Lauzun, begun on a great scale in 1570, but unfinished (according to Palustre).
- d. Chateau at Subly, apparently commenced in 1567 by Nicolas Ribonnier.
- e. Chateau at Joigny, begun in 1569; only the middle building and one pavilion were completed.
- f. Chateau at Louppy, built in the second half of the 16th century on a great scale (according to Palustre) by an architect from Germany.
- g. The former City Hall, now Palace of Justice, at Besancon, built in 1582-1585 by Hughes Sambin.
- h. The long wing of the City Hall at La Rochelle, completed in 1607 by an unknown master.
- i. Magnificent wardrobes in the chapel of the Palace of Justice at Dijon, executed in 1582 by Sambin.
- j. The vestibule to Palace of Justice at Dijon, belonging to the time of Charles IX, and probably by Nicolas Ribonnier. (According to Palustre).

3. The Masters.

203. Small Number of Masters.

In mentioning the masters engaged in the late Renaissance, it must first be remembered, that in this period artists were still preeminent, who had already developed their work in the high Renaissance, or even in the time of the early Renaissance, like Jacques I Du Cerceau, Hugues Sambin and Nicolas Bachelier, Pierre Lescot and Jean Bullant both died only in the year 1578. Of Du Cerceau, the fatter, it is unknown when he died, as already stated in Art. 160, but his volume on the Monuments of ancient Rome appeared in 1584. Bernard Palissy was approximately his contemporary and only died in the year 190.

The number of masters, whose names are mentioned in the frequently quoted works of Lance and of Palustre, is striking enough; only two of them deserve more thorough consideration;

Palissy and Baptiste Du Cerceau. According to time, Palissy might have been mentioned with the five great architects of the high Renaissance, as the sixth of those masters. If this is first done in this place, the reason for it is, that the freer tendency of his spirit is better suited to the freer current during the phase of the late Renaissance, and further to the circumstance, that this pure and noble form is the more clearly relieved against the background of depravity during the epoch of Henry III, like a shining star, that hopefully indicates better times.

a. Bernard Palissy.

204. Manysidedness and Perseverance.

This master was at the same time architect, glass stainer, potter, geometrician, surveyor, physicist, chemist, geologist, farmer, gardener, and author, of the first rank. In this many-sidedness of genius in his works he stands alone, and is therein to be compared to Leonardo da Vinci, but in the originality of his conceptions with Rembrandt. In his only known signature, Palissy designates himself as "architect and inventor of large figulines to Monseigneur the Constable. (Feb. 1.1564).⁴²⁴

Note 423. Figulines (from Latin figulus, a worker in clay, or from figulinus, i.e., of clay), Palissy calls his glazed terra cotta figures, which are not to be confounded with figurines, little figures or statuettes.

Note 424. See France, A. Les Oeuvres de Bernard Palissy e etc. Paris. 1880. p. 27.

For sixteen years, Palissy with heroic perseverance continued his experiments in pottery, during which the garden fence, the floors and the tables were thrown into the kiln to produce the required heat, and this made him the most popular artistic figure in France. But had Palissy created his glazed pottery alone, he would have found no mention in these volumes. The manner of composition, style and scale of colors of these works remain rather cold; but the greatness of his soul and his energy, his manly independence and the depth of his Christian faith, on the other hand make him one of the most interesting and astonishing artistic natures. In this investigator of true genius, original thinker, discoverer, even a prophet in the domain of the natural sciences and of agricul-

agriculture, there unwillingly arises a comparison with Leonardo da Vinci. As in his case as well as that of Palissy, one is surprised at everything that aroused his intellect at the same time.

Palissy indeed stands alone among all French masters in regard to the originality of his esthetics; in his two books there are to be found in various places statements, which likewise produce a comparison with Leonardo, since both united art, science and practice in the same person.

Finally as a writer, Palissy is indeed a master of the first rank, and the noble praise paid to him in this domain by Lamartine is not exaggerated.⁴²⁵ The descriptions in his "Jardin delectable" and his "Ville fortresse" must remain in the history of art as unique as are those compositions themselves. Perhaps Palissy should be regarded as the prophetic creator of the English garden and park designs.

Note 425. In Audiat (p. 220, from the *Civilisateur*, July 1852) is found the following passage:-- "It is impossible, it is impossible after reading his writings, to not proclaim this poor worker in clay as one of the greatest writers in the French language. Montaigne does not excel him in freedom, J. J. Rousseau in pith, La Fontaine in grace, Bossuet in lyric energy. He dreams, meditates, weeps, describes, and he sings like them".

Modern physics, chemistry and geology owe him much. He founded in France the public lecture, and his cabinet of natural objects,-- his little academy, as he terms it, -- was open to every lover of science and amateur; it was therefore the first museum of natural history. As a zealous Huguenot, on account of his faith, he was at last imprisoned in the Bastille, and he died there in 1590 from want, starvation and maltreatment.

205. Course of his Life.

Palissy appears to have been generally known under the name of "master Bernard of the Tuileries", perhaps because the supervision of his kiln built there required his constant presence, and therefore he lived there from time to time. S. Gerard Langrois mentioned him in 1592 in his book, "Le Globe du Monde"; "master Bernard Palissy, heretofore governor of the Tuileries".

According to the most reliable among several different statements, Palissy was born in the year 1570 in the diocese of Agen, and he appears to have been taken to Saintonge while still quite young. He first learned glass-making and glass-staining, wandered over nearly all France, where he made the most varied observations, and he then settled in Saintes.

In 1539 or 1540 on seeing a glazed bowl, there arose in him a desire to discover the making of a "white glaze", whose production was originated by Luca della Robbia, and which had remained a secret of the della Robbias. Meanwhile he was alternately a glass-maker and glass-stainer, a geometrician and surveyor.

In 1544, Palissy was entrusted with a land registry survey of the salt marshes in Saintonge.

In 1546, he was converted to Protestantism.

In 1548, there arose a rebellion in Saintonge, which was suppressed by the Constable de Montmorency. The latter thereon became the protector of Palissy, and placed at his disposal a part of the money required for the building of his workshop; the Constable likewise ordered from Palissy the glazed grotto for Ecouen.

In 1562 as a zealous Huguenot, he was sent to prison by the Parliament in Bordeaux. The Constable procured for him a patent as "inventor of rustic figures to the king", thus freeing him from the jurisdiction of the parliament, as being then an appertaining to the king.

In 1563, Palissy was still working on the grotto for Ecouen, and published in the same year his book "La Recepte veritable".

In 1565, he was presented to the king and Catherine de Medici at Saintes by the Constable.

In 1566 or 1567, he removed to Paris in order to begin for Catherine the famous glazed grotto of the Tuileries.

In 1570, the four glazed bridges leading to the island in the grotto were not yet completed.

In 1575-1584, Palissy gave public lectures (conferences) in Paris on scientific topics.

In 1580, he published his book "Les Discours admirables".

In 1590, he was thrown into the Bastille during the League, rescued by Mayenne from the death of a martyr, and as already

already stated, he died in 1590 in prison from cold and poverty, after he had reached the eightieth year of his life.

b. Baptiste Androuet Du Cerceau.

206. Position.

Baptiste, elder son of the famous Jacques I Androuet Du Cerceau (see d, 1, e, Arts. 159-162) was at latest born between 1544 and 1547, and he died in the year 1590. He early attained high distinction, and was without doubt held to be the best architect in that time of Henry III; for after the death of Lescot and Bullant in the year 1578, Baptiste became the successor of the former in the erection of the Louvre, and the successor of the master last mentioned in the building of the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis. His participation in the design of his father for the magnificent Chateau of Charles IX at Charleval, the superintendence of the construction of which he must have had from the beginning, was already mentioned in Art. 160.

On Dec. 28, 1576, the king had entrusted the building of his Chateau at Ollainville near Arpajon to a lord of Nyvellon. The words "charge and conduct of his building" may as well refer to an official as to an architectural function;⁴²⁶ but when on Oct. 17, 1578, Baptiste was placed at the head of this building in the same words, this can only in his case refer to the real architectural control, and it may well be assumed, that he is the creator of this architectural monument. Unfortunately nothing further exists of this extensive architectural activity of Baptiste, -- with the exception of the Bridge pont Neuf at Paris ⁴²⁷ designed and commenced by him, -- by which one might form an idea of his artistic gifts and of his style. That he enjoyed a part of his training with his father is as good as certain; whether he was himself in Italy is not known.

Note 426. In the "Comptes des Batiments du Roi" (Vol. 1. p. 36), there occurs in the royed brief of Nov. 13, 1577, the following passage: -- "By which the king has committed to masters Aymard Nicolay, Benoist Milen, and Francois de Nyvelon, the charge and control of his house of the Chateau of Ollainville". These words leave no doubt that to the last was given only the official charge of the building.

Note 427. concerning the interesting execution of this Bridge and for many other things relating to Baptiste, I refer to my already frequently mentioned monograph:-- Les Du Serceau etc. Paris. 1887.

207. Course of his Life.

In 1525, he was received in the guard of "45 gentlemen in ordinary" of Henry III as the sole Huguenot. According to the words used by the duke of Nevers, "yet he had made more designs for monasteries, churches, chapels, meeting-houses and altars, than any other in 50 years".

In 1577, he received at the Chateau at Chambord the same annual salary of 400 livres, that he had been accustomed to receive there (since 1572?).

On Sept. 25, 1578, as already stated, he became the successor of Lescot at the building of the Louvre, and on Oct. 17 of the same year the successor of Bullant at the building of the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis, as well as architect of the royal Chateau at Ollainville. In the same year, he began the construction of the Bridge Pont Neuf at Paris.

In 1584, he was designated as architect to the king, and in Nov. of the same year, he purchased the site for his house in Paris.

In 1585, he was valet-de-chambre of the king and orderer in general of the buildings of his majesty, apparently with 6000 livres salary.

On apr. 21, 1586, he arranged the measurements of the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis.

In 1586, he is designated as the "nobleman Baptiste Androuet, lord du Serceau, royal councillor, his architect-in-ordinary, commissioned by his majesty to ordain all the works of the buildings and edifices of his majesty, and the expenses that may properly be incurred".

On Sept. 18, 1590, after Baptiste's death, Pierre Biard was appointed as successor to his office of architect, and superintendent deciding on the cost of the buildings of the king, lately held and exercised by Baptiste Androuet Du Serceau, vacated by his death, with a salary of 600 crowns.

On the site acquired in 1584 near the Pre-aux-Clercs at Paris, Baptiste built for himself a beautiful house, which must

have been destroyed during the disturbances of the League. For on account of his Protestant faith, he apparently resigned all his offices in 1585. Likewise in a manner not sufficiently certain, there is mention of the flight of Baptiste, which must have occurred in 1585;⁴²⁸ yet this does not seem reconcilable with the fact, that Mayenne, chief of the League in Paris, only on Sept. 18, 1590, nominated a successor to the office held by Baptiste, "now vacant by his death".

Note 428. According to Palustre, this occurred in 1587, by reason of what statements I know not. The fact that on Nov. 12, 1587, the king entrusted to Jean Nicolai the superintendence of the Chapel, that the king was building in the Church S. Denis for the sepulchre of the late king Henry, may perhaps permit the conclusion, that Baptiste no longer had charge of the building. Otherwise the function of Nicolai there might be merely an official one. (See Comptes des Batiments du Roi etc. Vol. 1. p. 42).

The wife of Baptiste was named Marie Raguidier or Rueguidort. She sold the house of her husband in 1602 to his brother Jacques II, whom with Jean I, son of Baptiste, we shall find as royal architects of Henry IV and of Louis XIII.

c. Other Masters.

208. Other Masters.

Of the period of Charles IX and Henry III, the following masters are further named in the already frequently mentioned "Dictionnaire des Architectes Francais etc." by Lance.

a. Arnaud Dubit, as architect to the king of Navarre, received in 1565 a yearly salary of 32 crowns.

b. Herve Bourlard, architect to the king of Navarre, was in 1563 architect of the Chateau at Pau, and he built in 1580 a fountain in the garden of the Chateau at Nerac.

c. Jean Wast must have constructed for Charles IX the main stairway in the second story of the Louvre; the statement that in relation to the stonecutting of the oval staircase in the Tuileries at Paris he helped Philibert De l'Orme out of difficulty, who was indeed very skilful in this specialty, and that he afterwards left him in the lurch, must be accepted with caution.

d. Guillaume de Chapounay was about 1570 "comptroller gen-

general of the buildings of the Tuileries with an annual salary of 360 livres.

e. Matthias Tesson built in 1572 the gateway of the City Hall at Arras near Rue Vinocq.

f. Charles Bullant, a nephew of Jean Bullant, worked in 1573 under the latter on the tombs at S. Denis, and he placed himself in 1582 with other architects in a series for taking up the work on the Mausoleum of the Valois there.

g. Nicolas Duchemin began in 1574 the building of Church Notre Dame at Havre; the choir was completed in 1585 and the nave in 1587.

h. Jean Bennard, architect to the king, received in Nov. 1572, 100 livres "on account of his daily service".

i. Florent Drouin was designated in 1581 as "master mason" of the duchy of Lorraine and was sent to Rome to bring therefrom the plan of the Church degli Incurabili, because it was desired to construct it after the model of Church Benedictine begun at Nancy in 1626.

j. Cl. P. Leroy began in 1581 with the building of the Chateau at Eu, which Henry of Guise (Le Balafre) had built on the ruins of an earlier chateau; only the right wing and one half the rear wing were then completed; Leroy died on Nov. 10, 1582.

k. Louis de Foix was born at Paris about 1550 (?), and was called by Philip II to work on the Escorial near Madrid; he returned to Paris in 1579, executed the new harbor at Bayonne and in 1585 began the erection of the Tower of Corduan. (Fig. 314).

l. Alexandre Carnot delivered in 1585 the model "with round knob" for the termination finished in 1604, of the bell tower of the Church at Villefranche-de-Rouergue.

m. Palustre names in his "Architecture de la Renaissance" only two masters of the period in question in addition to those otherwise mentioned; Guillaume Crete and Thomas Olivier; both built from 1580 to 1598 the side aisles of the Church at Argentan.

f. Period of Henry IV and his Influence on the 17 th Century.

209. Necessity of a connected Presentation of the historical Review.

With Henry IV, we have come to that period of French architecture, which most French writers no longer regard as belonging to the Renaissance style, as we saw in Art. 5. Nevertheless, we shall show that this view is scientifically incorrect, and that all phenomena in the domain of the main current of French architecture until the present day are merely different phases of development of the Renaissance style. With Henry IV, we have reached the end of the first and the beginning of the second period of development.

The second period of development of the Renaissance however presents perceptible and important differences from the character of the first. Its general appearance is more uniform. the difference between the characters of the three chief phases, i.e., of the styles of Louis XIII, Louis XIV, and Louis XV, are partly less striking to the eye, than between those of Francis I, Henry II, and Henry III, of the first period of development. This permits the giving of a review of the historical events, that influenced architecture in sequence at the entrance upon the second period, instead of as before, separately for each different phase. The review therefore becomes briefer and more convincing.

210. Defective Knowledge of this Period.

The epoch of Henry IV is that portion of the history of French architecture, whose accurate criticism appears most difficult. "The history of French art at the end of the 16 th century and the beginning of the 17 th", writes Limonnier,⁴²⁹ "is still obscure. Not merely because historians have scarcely occupied themselves with it, but on account of the uncertainty of the period, and because it is difficult to comprehend the works and to determine their character". The statement of so skilful an expert as Limonnier concerning the ignorance regarding the period of Henry IV is especially valuable, as it aids in explaining the erroneous opinion concerning the position of that period and the succeeding phases with reference to the Renaissance style. For it is indeed most important for understanding the following 150 years, as well as for the knowledge of the relation of this second period of development of Renaissance architecture to the first. This appears to be indeed the key to the latter question.

Note 429. In Limonnier, *H. L'Art Français au Temps de Richelieu et de Mazarin*. Paris. 1893. p. 41. -- This testimony of Limonnier, Professor of History at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, is especially valuable. On account of its sterling qualities and the endeavor to impartially weigh all the elements, his work cannot be sufficiently recommended for the study of the period from 1600 to 1660.

A series of reasons at least partially explain this apparent indifference to the arts of the period of Henry IV, as well as the incorrect views caused by the imperfect knowledge of it, and which were already mentioned in Arts. 5 and 19.

First is the assumed lack of masters, who were really great or at least had opportunity to demonstrate to later periods their importance, when their functions frequently consisted of continuing works commenced by other architects.

Second is the French custom of designating the different phases by naming them after their kings. Thereby on the one hand was the difference too strongly emphasized, the connections too greatly weakened, and too brief epochs are considered. On the other hand, distorted pictures are produced by these dislocations. Important portions of the phases are placed in false bounds and in incorrect surroundings. The architectural representation is obscured.

The historical description of the development of the styles and their scientific estimation are led astray in this case, because since only the undisturbed reign of Henry as king is considered, and not the entire period of the Huguenot contest, whose personification, so to speak, was the king of Navarre. Just the period of Henry IV has thereby especially suffered, while the important, interesting and so characteristic appearance of Salomon de Brosse was transferred by the murder of the great king into the assumed sphere of his widow and of his young son, where it was scarcely intelligible, and was assumed by many as somewhat enigmatical.

A third reason must be, that Henry was at first a Protestant and afterwards became a Catholic. Earnest Huguenots still fill the second period of the king with melancholy. Many Catholics are not in sympathy with his great role as head of the Huguenots. Since his conversion resulted from policy, it

does not appear sincere to them.

Fourth, the defective understanding of this period results from the indescribable chaos into which France fell during this epoch. From the night of St. Bartholemew, which coincided with the marriage of Henry and the daughter of Catherine de Medici, until the entry of the king into Paris (1594), the chaos became ever more frightful, and this indeed scared away historical investigators.

Finally must be true, as I believe, the judgment of Henri Martin,⁴³⁰ that it was impossible under the old monarchy to write the "history" of France, the lack of an impartial history, the want of which is lamented still in France, contributing to the explanation of the defective knowledge of the period of Henry IV.

Note 430. In *Histoire de France*. 4th edition. Paris. 1855-1860. Vol. 12. p. 140; vol. 15. p. 353.

1. Epoch of Henry IV; the Huguenot Wars, the League, and the Fusion Policy of the King.
(1562-1628).

211. Period of Henry IV.

The period of Henry IV is one of the most important, perhaps the most important in the history of France after the fall of ancient Rome and the epoch of Charlemagne. Then France had to decide on what position it should take in regard to the Reformation.

When I designate as the period of Henry IV the entire duration of the Huguenot strife, I hope by this classification to make possible a better understanding of that epoch. I likewise hope to be able to better indicate its influence upon the second period of the Renaissance and their development and connection.

Such a classification and grouping appear justified, since it contains as a basis the entirety of an intellectual movement, which has been of fundamental importance to the destiny and the arts of France until the present day. It permits in the religious domain, in which all feeling continually attained to its highest expression, the production of other contemporary endeavors, that likewise contributed in determining the character of the architecture.

It likewise appears justifiable to extend the term "period of Henry IV" over the entire epoch of the Huguenot contest of 1562-1628 and after his actual reign. As a friend and pupil of Coligny, so to speak, he was in connection with the beginning of the movement; after 1568, he took part in it personally; from 1589 to 1610, he was the head and the focus of everything. He further himself successively belonged to both confessions of faith. A Huguenot Catholic or Catholic-Huguenot, Henry was the most national of all kings of France. To have understood a fusion policy and to have carried it out until his early end remains the noblest crown of his fame.

212. Diversity of the Matters in Controversy.

When the storm of misfortunes was released upon the religious domain, there was combined with the contest of the Huguenots for freedom of conscience a multitude of other elements, questions and principles. The following phenomena were mutually opposed to each other in general.

- a. The Protestant reaction against Rome to the contest of the Huguenots against the Catholics.
- b. The reaction of the great nobles against the absolute monarchy.
- c. The reaction of municipal freedom against absolute monarchy.
- d. The reaction of the peasantry against the nobility.
- e. The dynastic questions of succession; herein the Catholics and the Huguenots were frequently united against the combined Catholics and Spaniards; then fought with each other to the pure monarchical principle of hereditary succession, the Catholic principle of a Catholic king, and the republican principle.
- f. The question of national unity or the division of France into large independent principalities.

These conflicts arrayed themselves against the constantly increasing Italian tendency in art, after the awakening of a northern national feeling.

213. Anarchy.

From these conflicts arose the most frightful anarchy. The outburst of the League in 1585 was the counterpart of the great Huguenot movement of 1562. Its watchword was the disinh-

disinheritance of the king of Navarre as a protection against a Huguenot king and the fall of the favorite. It surrendered the interior to the ultramontanes, the borders and the exterior to Spain; the democratic party in it became even antinational. The great men of the League, like those of the Huguenots, again desired to dissolve the great unity of the French state in order to be able to raise their governments into independent principalities. Foreigners likewise believed in the dissolution of French unity.⁴³¹

Note 431. Already in 1573, William of Orange wrote to the king; "You are on the brink of ruin, your state is open on every side, torn like an old house; --- This throne belongs to whoever will take it". Spain believed in the dissolution of France after the death of Henry III, Venice in the formation of municipal republics; the grand duke of Tuscany offered to the king to buy Marseilles in case of the dissolution of the kingdom.

The Jesuits opened the contest against the beginning theory of the "divine right of the king".

About 1592, there existed no less than eight pretenders to the French throne, among them the king of Spain and his daughter, in whose favor he sought the abrogation of the Salic law. In the Protestant party republican tendencies constantly appeared, and they endeavored to organize themselves, sometimes in the form of a federation of cities, sometimes after theocratic or Swiss models, or even as a republic of Protestants and Catholics combined. The plebeians despised the nobility, mistrustingly watched their pastors, or regulated their visits to the chateaus.

Paris, which closed its gates for ten years against Henry III and Henry IV, was ruled by three or four parties:-- Mayenne, the Council of Sixteen, the Legate of the Pope, and the Spaniards with their garrison. It demanded republican institutions under the protectorate of the Pope, of the king of Spain, of despotism incarnate! Besieged from time to time by its legitimate king, it was relieved by the duke of Parma, who held the Netherlands for Spain. Paris looked thither for Spanish help, while the king had no capital other than his camp and battlefields. To appease the fanaticism of the bes-

besieged Parisians, the government was apparently compelled to fabricate trophies of booty and tales of combats.

"From one end of France to the other", writes H. Martin, "every one was busied in making war in his province, and every canton was the scene of incessant strife".

A description of this diversity of interests was necessary, in order to better explain the variety of the tendencies and the foreign influences, with which we meet.

a. Government of Henry IV and of Sully.

214. Conquest of Anarchy.

Thus were the circumstances under which Henry IV again re-established the monarchy after twenty five years of war. Even after his entry into Paris, the difficulties were enormous. As H. Martin says, Henry was compelled to repurchase France in detail from a thousand petty kings, produced by the hydra of the civil war. The king himself had no shirt, while financiers like ~~Théa~~ ~~Zamas~~, the Cenamis, Jerome de Gondi, the intendants or farmers of the king, filled their coffers. From Henry III, the administration of the finances was an organized robbery.

215. Henry IV.

As a personality, Henry IV was the most important king, who sat on the throne of France from Charlemagne to Napoleon. The youthful pupil of Coligny, heroic, rash, filled with love for hand-to-hand combats, he had as much genius as a commander as keen insight into the politics and administration of his country. "Henry of Navarre", says Martin, "had one of those rare and wonderfully organized natures, strong and elastic as steel, which nothing could crush or surprise. Under the pressure of necessity, always master of the situation, constantly increasing and inexhaustible means were found".

Infinitely superior to the Valois and the Guises in all essentials, he was inferior to them in relation to elegance and personal dignity. Compared with both of the other Henrys, he almost appears as a military adventurer among princes.

Yet Henry was everything, but unsusceptible to the joys of life. Full of affability, kind feeling and sparkling spirits, as Martin says, pleasure was a real occasion of importance, indeed one too great. In spite of his genius, the king had

all the passions, which ruin a private man and even overburden a monarch; woman, play and building. This makes the financial undertakings of Sully only still more astonishing. The minister sighed over the 1,200,000 crowns, that Henry expended annually on his pleasures, for which Sully would have been able to maintain 15,000 infantry. He further spent 1,800,000 crowns for furniture and jewels.

With Henry IV, the religious wars came to an end, and the political commenced; they returned to France the leadership and the European position, that the former had taken from it; An inborn reorganizer and founder of foreign politics, Henry was the most French of all kings of France; he always had the idea of the nation before his eyes. The character of the government by Henry and by Sully was that of order, steadiness and regularity.

The advancement of France in the 12 years of the government of Henry and of Sully was enormous. The king required from the latter in 1609 a general report on the condition of France, upon what this ought to be, and what remained to be done, on the needs and the means of the country. The plan of this report proves the farsightedness of this great prince.

The France of the 17 th century rests on the shoulders of Henry of Bourbon. As he prepared the way for Malherbe, Corneille and Racine, so likewise Richelieu and Louis XIV supported themselves upon Henry IV, yet with the difference, that he was not overshadowed by his successors. They were mightier, but not greater than he.

With the Huguenot Sully begins the series of four great ministers, to whom France in the 17 th century owes an important part of the position, that it has today.

Maximilian de Bethune, baron of Rosny, later duke of Sully, in character rude, obstinate, haughty and selfish, possessed an imperturbable self-confidence, rapidity of decision, and impetuosity in act. To his calculating spirit, termed "stinginess" by the court was joined the spirit of order, of frugality, and of good administration. Selfish, but incorruptible, his ungracious rudeness was a virtue for the work assigned him in clearing away the forest of abuses. Until the last a Huguenot, he was entirely devoted to Henry.

After 1597, Rosny won the upper hand and then successively became:-- in 1599, superintendent of finances and master of the great roads of France, in 1600, grand master of artillery, then superintendent of buildings and fortresses, in 1606, duke of Sully and perr of France.

Prime minister in reality, though indeed not in name, he had exclusive control of the finances and the internal administration, and while he was arranging the war and navy departments, he could carry out his plan of reform, determined on after 1593.

b. Foreign Policy of Henry IV and his mediating Spirit.

217. Henry's Mediating Spirit.

One must distinguish two phases in Henry IV. One should not be suppressed because the other exists. We have first the Huguenot phase, then the Catholic, or more correctly, the mediating phase of the Catholic Huguenot.

Henry of Navarre and Elisabeth of England were by their political genius, as by their energetic endurance, the two chief opponents of Catholicism.⁴³² They were in the first rank of the powers, who prevented the victory of the Roman-Spanish spiritual tendency and the inquisition over all Europe. The conversion of Henry IV succeeded by the mass on July 25, 1593, joined anew the bond between church and state at the expense of the secular power. A man of Henry's stamp does not belong to the class of bigoted converts. After his "conversion", he was not blind to all he did not see before. He remained the supporter of a portion of the Protestant spirit.

Note 432. "Necessity, which is the law of the time, makes me say to some one thing, to others a different thing." These words of the king explain many things! To the landgrave of Hesse the king said in 1602, that he thought to again make public profession of the Reformation before his death. He constantly assured the Catholics of his Catholic zeal. (see Martin. Vol. 10. p. 521).

Henry IV stood between an intolerant majority and an indomitable minority. Nothing had caused him more sleepless nights for five years past, than the affairs of the Huguenots. On April 12, 1598, he finally issued the edict of Nantes, which ended the great period of religious wars in France.

218. Henry's Spirit of Toleration.

Henry Martin makes it prominent, how strongly the king had, what was yet unknown in Rome as in Geneva, the spirit of noble human tolerance. On the points, which separated the two confessions, he perhaps never reached personal convictions. But he may have felt, that both camps fought for certain principles, without which the individual or the state cannot eventually remain healthy. Hence his policy of fusion. It was the source of many compromises. Its form was not always equally as noble as its purpose, says Martin. The advance of France during the brief undisturbed period of the rule of the king, the lamentation for his death left the hope of success to appear entirely justified.

219. Compromises between King and Minister.

Concerning the compromises mentioned above, Henry Martin and others make prominent the contradiction existing between the founding of manufactures of articles of luxury on the one hand and the sumptuary edicts on the other. From 1594 to 1606 there followed successively four such edicts, which forbade the placing of silver and gold on clothing. He believes in a kind of transaction between the king on the one part, Sully and the parliament on the other. The use of silk was permitted, and the ordinary use of silver and gold fabrics, which had risen to a great height under Henry III, was prohibited. In fact it frequently appears as if such a transaction formed an element of his fusion policy, as if the king desired to accord with the feeling of the Catholic majority, while to his friend and great minister Sully, as a severe Huguenot, was entrusted the advocacy of the spirit of his associates in his former faith and contests.

After the king permitted in 1603 the return of the Jesuits and took Father Cotton as his confessor, he likewise believed that he must do something important for the Huguenots. In opposition to the edict of Nantes and the agreement made with the Parisians in 1594, he permitted them to preach in S. Maurice near Charenton, two leagues distant from Paris. The Temple of Charenton was one of the focuses of Protestantism.

The influence of the fusion policy and of its spirit upon architecture will be mentioned later.

c. Henry's Measures for the Elevation of the Arts.

220. Bond between Artists and the Government.

Henry's grand reorganization of all forces strongly influenced the character of the new period of development. Not too much can be said of the forming of an official bond between the artists and the government. He thereby strengthened the close relations, that had prevailed from the beginning of the Renaissance between kings and artists and gave them a definite form. These have exerted a determinative influence upon French art until this day.

221. Master of the Louvre Gallery.

Henry completed in great part the Louvre gallery in order to create dwellings for a considerable number of artists and workers in art industries. He thereby freed them from the restrictions of the corporations, to place them in continual touch with the court, and in this way to arouse and perfect their taste.

This organization of those dwelling near the king, of the greatest in the kingdom and of the artists under one roof, must have been unique. It deserves the most careful consideration and explains many things, even at this day. We shall have to recur to its results and show the way in which Louis XIV also speaks of this creation.

222. Elevation of Art Industry.

In the assembly of commerce and industry in 1604, the king strove for a general reform of the corporations. Industry was then very much depressed, not only in consequence of the religious wars, but on account of the lax application of the rules, that guaranteed good and honest workmanship.

For the further elevation of the arts and industries, the king hit upon the following measures. There was founded in the Louvre a conservatory for models of machines and inventions for arts and industries. He called into being the famous tapestry manufactures of the Gobelins and of the Savonnerie, which were to surpass those of Arras. He ordered in 1602 the manufacture of gilded leather hangings; the head of a manufacture of golden fabrics established at Paris in 1603 was ennobled and made an officer of the royal house with exclusive privileges for 12 years. After 1599 the gardens of his chat-

chateaus were planted with mulberry trees for the raising of silkworms. Agriculture flourished greatly under the lead of the Huguenot Olivier de Serres and by the influence of his works. Everywhere was disclosed a new source of production and of wealth.

223. Activity in Architecture.

Immediately with the restoration of his rule in Paris in 1594, the king permitted the arts to take part in the restoration of the kingdom. A series of stately buildings was erected between 1595 and 1610, and even more important designs were prepared. His great architectural works at the royal Palace of the Louvre, in Fontainebleau, in S. Germain-en-Laye and others will be mentioned in the descriptions of these structures.

Henry IV issued excellent edicts concerning the office of building commissioner, for the sanitation of cities, and for the regular service of cleaning the streets of Paris; numerous fountains were constructed. Sully was at the head of it all as grand master of streets.

The correction of streets, new places and quays, and the Aqueduct of Rungis were commenced, still larger squares were projected, like the Place de France, as well as a new College de France as a complete academy of sciences. The Library was opened to the public. Hospitals (La Charite) were founded and others were designed for officers, invalids, poor noblemen and soldiers.

Henry IV ordered his ministers in 1609 to prepare a great compilation of everything concerning the art of war, a true military encyclopedia.

224. New Spirit of Instruction.

On the reorganization of the University of Paris under Henry IV, ultramontane teachings were replaced by Gallican and monarchical principles, and the former were carried to their logical results. For the first time since the middle ages, a reform of studies was perfected without the Pope, simply by the authority of the king and parliament, as a secular and entirely national event. Men courageously took their stand on the spirit of the Renaissance, replaced the grammarians of the middle ages by the originals of Greece and Rome; Hippocra-

Hippocrates and Galen appeared instead of Jewish-Arab commentators, the Scriptures and the fathers of the Church instead of the scholastics. All this was so sound, says Martin, that we are living by it today. This was another breach with the middle ages, a new invigoration of the antique.

2. Examples of the Architecture of the period of Henry IV.

In order to make possible a better survey, we divide these examples into the following groups, according to their tendencies.

Examples of the continuance of the earlier tendencies; examples of mixed tendencies; examples in the direction of a severe reaction, and examples of the tendency of Salomon de Brosse.

a. Continuance of earlier Tendencies and Elements.

225. Continuance of the Tendency of Henry III.

It is here first of all to be made prominent, that the free and capricious tendency, that we observed under Charles IX and Henry III (see Arts. 195-199), by no means became extinct with the reign of Henry IV. We find examples thereof beside the current of a severe reaction, and we see it partially survive in the freer tendency of the epoch of Louis XIII.

As a first example may be named the former Hotel Torpanne at Paris, whose arcade is now exhibited in the garden of the Ecole des Beaux Arts at Paris. Fig. 50⁴³³ shows its scarcely severe subdivision and its overloading by sculpture.⁴³⁴

Note 433. Reproduction from Lenoir, A. Collection des Documents sur l'Histoire de France. Paris. After 1843.

Note 434. F. de Guilhermy says in his "Itinéraire Historique de Paris", (Paris. 1855), p. 365, that this dated from the year 1567.

A further example is presented by the roodloft of S. Etienne at Toulouse, shown in Fig. 51.⁴³⁵ On the same likewise already occur various heavy elements in the character of the epoch of Louis XIII.

Note 435. Reproduction from Revue Generale de l'Architecture. Vol. 38. Pl. 14.

To the tendency under consideration also belongs the first building, that Henry IV undertook in the year of his entry into Paris, the two upper stories of the eastern half of the

grand gallery of the Louvre. This portion is very surprising in Paris, bears the name of the gallery along the water, and it is one of the richest examples of the Renaissance in France. (Figs. 115, 134, 135). The subdivision of the ground story, which partly determines those of the upper stories indeed belongs to the epoch of Charles IX; but the composition and the carving of the ornament in place likewise belongs to the time of Henry IV, so far as it is generally old.

As further examples of this tendency I mention the portal of Hotel de Vogue at Dijon (1614) and the fireplace in the Hall of guards in the same.

The choir stalls of the Cathedral of Bayeux (1589) present an example, in which may be observed the transition from the style of Henry II into that of Henry IV. The columns and panels almost entirely belong to the former; the freely perforated upper portion recalls somewhat that of the court of the Louvre. Its idea properly belongs to the early Renaissance, while the very animated forms rather bear the late character of the epoch of Henry III.

Simpler examples from about the time of 1620 show a house in Rue des Grands Merciers at La Rochelle and another in Rue Grande at Poitiers; the latter proves how heavy and even rude were sometimes the mouldings in that period.⁴³⁶

Note 436. The four examples last mentioned are illustrated in Rouyer, E. *L'Art Architectural en France etc.* Paris. 1859-1866. Vol. 1. Pls. 48-50; Vol. 2. Pls. 14, 20.

b. Mixture of different Phases.

226. Earlier Phases of the Renaissance.

Forms from the earlier phases of the Renaissance frequently came into use, even in the epoch of Henry IV, indeed chiefly for the reason of variety in an earlier building. If it be true, that the chief portion of the choir and transverse aisle of the Church at S. Florentin (Fig. 162) were first built in 1611-1622, various motives of the mature Renaissance were employed there and were joined with later forms, as we may likewise see on the ground story of the Hotel-de-Ville at La Rochelle. This should not be surprising. The same thing occurred in the extension of S. Eustache about 1640 and in the completion of S. Laurent at Paris under Louis XIV.

Yet on the gateway in the court of Henry IV in the Capitol at Toulouse the lower parts have entirely the character of the purest high Renaissance under Henry II. The upper parts show in part freer forms, somewhat like those of the elder Du Cerceau of about 1570.

The small facade of the Church of the Minims at Nevers exhibit the mixture of two of these tendencies of the epoch of Henry IV, on the one hand more delicate with elegantly shaped fluted Corinthian columns, on the other with very wide and almost plain enclosures of the doors and windows.

On account of its peculiar mode of composition is especially worthy of consideration the beautiful Hotel-de-Ville at La Rochelle (about 1605). The ground story with its double arches with suspended keystones belongs in idea to the early Renaissance, and the principal story essentially to the high Renaissance; finally the attic with its dormer windows and its upper termination with inverted broken pediments shows the capricious and bizarre forms of the late Renaissance of the 16th century (Fig. 111).

The facade of S. Pierre at Auxerre (in 1623 according to Palustre ⁴³⁷) exhibits a similar mixture of forms of high Renaissance, even in predominating members, with older and even Gothic reminiscences. The partly heavy treatment of the scrollwork already shows the so-called character of Louis XIII.

Note 437. The date of 1653 in the design of the pediment can only refer to this crowning portion.

On the facade of S. Etienne du Mont especially occurs the mixed character (1610). The sides with their numerous offsets ending in consoles have a belittling effect and are treated in an earlier spirit than the central portion, whose engaged Composite columns and pediment are rich and dignified. As on Church Notre Dame at Havre, the columns have even received a kind of rusticated treatment. Their bold scale already recalls the style of Salomon de Brosse, whose almost contemporary facade of S. Gervais at Paris (1616) on the other hand exhibits from top to bottom a peculiarly united character.

c. Reaction toward a more severe Tendency.

227. Two Tendencies.

It is frequently assumed that the first step taken by Henry

IV was a return to greater simplicity and severity. It appears however, that the previously mentioned passion of the king for building made an exception thereto, when this concerned palaces like the Louvre and that at S. Germain-en-Laye (Fig. 133), where he displayed a truly royal magnificence.

Nevertheless the return to moderation is one of the chief tendencies of his epoch. His edicts against luxury also partially express this. Already in 1583 had such a one been issued against luxury in clothing, and between 1594 and 1606 there were four others against the use of gold and silver on garments.⁴³⁸

Note 438. Under Henry III was unknown the wearing of the ordinary gold and silver fabrics. Sully desired by the sumptuary laws of 1602 to prevent the flow of French gold into Italy; he therefore developed in France silk culture and the manufacture of gold cords after Milanese patterns.

In architecture is indeed frequently felt the effect of a strong spirit of order, that methodically employs whatever appears "reasonable", indeed expressing itself in two different ways; in the severity of the Franco-Italian tendency and in that of the Franco-Hollandish.

Corresponding to the two parties, that fought under the standard of the king of Navarre for the unity of France, for its independence and its order, we see in the architectural reaction against the extravagance of the last Valois two different tendencies, that correspond to the characters of the Catholics and of the Huguenots.

228. Franco-Italian Reaction.

If one finds himself in many respects inclined to regard French art of the 17th century as a fruit of the Catholic counter reformation, the western half of the former grand gallery of the Louvre would perhaps be named as the first architectural example of this tendency. It is based upon a severe and almost dry use of Italian forms. Fig. 52⁴³⁹ shows the type of this gallery with its great Composite order, as it existed until the rebuilding under Napoleon III. Figs. 114 and 115 give other portions of the same.

Note 439. Reproduction from Berty, A. *Topographie historique du vieux Paris. Région du Louvre et des Tuileries*. Paris. 1866. Vol. 1.

The second tendency in the direction of a severe reaction is reflected in different types of brick architecture with banded vertical quoins. Many chateaus were built in the country after this style, which frequently exhibits a rural simplicity. The type of houses of Place Royale (now des Voges) and of Place Dauphine at Paris are expressive examples of this tendency; Fig. 53 ⁴⁴⁰ shows the system on the first of these Places.

Note 440. Reproduction after Berty. A. La Renaissance Monumentale etc. Paris. 1864.

229. Franco-Hollandish Reaction.

Lemonnier ⁴⁴¹ and most writers assert of this tendency, that it is a purely French architecture. It appears to me that only a part of the truth lies in this opinion. In describing the Dutch influence and the tendency to brick construction, we shall show why we believe that in this case a Huguenot element must also be assumed.

Note 441. In L'Art Francais etc. (p. 52):-- "But there is likewise a style of architecture purely French, which is suddenly formed and seems to correspond well to the age of Henry IV. It is easily studied in the very numerous chateaus that remain. In Paris even --- the Place Dauphine -- and the Place Royale -- present remarkable specimens of it").

Even within this fashion of brickwork may be found two tendencies. One will accept as a creed, so to speak, the use of ashlar only as banded quoins at angles and openings, and as slabs on the wall piers; it sought to produce a decorative effect with these elements alone.

The other was more moderate and permitted at the same time the use of pilasters as an order. Place Royale was begun in 1599 or 1600 and Place Dauphine in 1609. In the Chapter on peculiarities of styles, we shall recur to this fashion of brickwork.

The further development of this Sully's type should then lead to the well known Chateau Beaumesnil in the vicinity of Bernay, while the Gallery des Cerfs and the buildings on the court of the kitchens in Fontainebleau were erected during Henry's life.

It is not possible already to give here a complete represen-

representation of all occurrences of that time. We must refer to the following sections of this volume and will merely mention, that there are buildings, which cannot be classed in the two tendencies here described, or whose character cannot be more accurately fixed.

To the former belongs the twelve-sided Temple of the Huguenots in Grand-Quevilly near Rouen, built in the year 1600 (Fig. 207). With the latter I must provisionally class the important Hotel de la Reine Marguerite (also Reine Margot), which the first divorced consort of Henry IV had built on the left bank of the Seine about opposite the little gallery of the Louvre. The same may be said of the first Temple near Charenton.

d. Tendency of Salomon de Brosse.

230. Fusion of different Elements.

In the description of the reign of Henry IV much weight has been laid on his fusion policy, since it appeared to us characteristic of the real intellectual tendency of the great king. Just because the endeavor to fuse together the best elements of the nation lasted so brief a time, it appears important to place in a clear light the effects of this fusion in art, when they are recognized.

We must first call attention to the following observation of Lemonnier:⁴⁴² "In spite of unskilfulness in the expression of the reality, the figures on certain tombs exhibit an intensity of moral expression, which is designated with difficulty; like a mixture of moderate Catholicism with reasonable Protestantism, of civic spirit with gentility, which places twenty years of our history before our eyes". It will likewise appear to us as if just the combination of something like the grand Roman-Italian conception with Huguenot earnestness and like severity is the characteristic of the style of the most prominent master of the period, the Huguenot Salomon de Brosse. We therefore especially call attention to the following notice of him. His works must have been brought into close connection with Henry IV and not with the weak and minor Louis XIII, as men usually do, led astray by the subdivision of the phases of architecture according to the reigns of the kings.

Note 442. In Lemonnier, H. L'Art Français etc. Paris. 1893.
p. 50.

3. Character of the Epoch of Henry IV.

231. Principal Features.

The chief features of the period of Henry IV may be comprised in the following phenomena:--

a. In the most intense struggle between opposed principles in the religious and political spheres and in the anarchy resulting.

b. In the diversity of the efforts that are developed during this strife.

c. In an apparent uncertainty of the opinions, that result from the varied seeking and striving to satisfy opposed sympathies.

d. In various combinations and mixtures of these tendencies with each other.

e. In the mighty reorganization of all forces by the great king and in a new growth in all domains.

f. In his tolerant endeavor to find it possible for both religious tendencies to cooperate together in the strengthening of all national elements.

232. Character of the Close.

The characteristic courses, with which we meet, are the following.

a. The character of the Close. It appears:--

In the loss and gradual extinction of the gift for inventing fresh, naive and novel forms of details for compromises and combinations of the Italian and the native (Gothic) tendency.

In the loss of ability to express living and happy freshness in already existing forms of details.

With the loss of this animated participation of the national elements also coincides the fact, that the Huguenot wars and the reaction of natural elements against Rome likewise came to an end.

In a further and greater breach with the mediaeval by new forms and the addition of antique elements.

233. Character of the Reaction.

b. The character of the reaction. This is expressed in t

two opposed tendencies:-- on the one hand in the direction of severity as opposed to the caprices of the imagination in the late Renaissance of the 16 th century; on the other in the direction of freedom against the restraint, the renunciation and the endeavors, which are connected with the high ideal of the antique.

The character of the reaction of the severe and simple against the caprices of the imagination and overloading the richness in the third phase of the Renaissance of the 16 th century appears in:--

1. In a Catholic form.
2. In a Huguenot form.
3. In a Gallo-Frankish form.

The Catholic reaction adhered by preference to the severer forms of the Italian counter reformation in Rome and Milan. The Huguenot appears to employ Dutch forms. The simply national Gallo-Frankish feeling, heiress of the Gothic tendency, seeks in the racially allied Flemish art the satisfaction of its feelings and the strengthening of the elements, from which it itself once arose.

It is to be expressly stated, that it is difficult in most cases to distinguish from each other the effects of the Huguenot and of the national Gallo-Frankish tendencies. It is likewise to be made prominent, that on the other hand the Huguenots show no regard whatever for the Italian forms. They indeed in the forms of reciprocal of the Early Christian form of religion, to which they desired to return. Of all architects of the period, the Huguenot Salomon de Brosse indeed most strongly adhered to the antique.

Finally, we see numerous edicts against luxury.

The reaction of a freer spirit against restraint in the Renaissance, which is connected with the use of the antique orders, is expressed in the omission of the latter and in the recourse to surfaces of brickwork with borders of banded ashlar quoins.

234. Character of firm Adherence.

c. The Character of firm Adherence.

In adhering to the acquisitions of the high Renaissance, and this was with Salomon de Brosse, for example, one of the

forms of the severe reaction..

In retaining the free tendency and rather fanciful caprices of the late Renaissance of the 16 th century.(Phase of Charles IX and Henry III).

In certain cases even in retaining earlier forms of the early French Renaissance.

In retaining in development and organization the close connection between the queen and the artists trained in Italy, by establishing dwellings and workrooms of the masters in the great gallery of the Louvre.(Masters of the gallery of the Louvre).

235. Character of Healing.

If one places before his eyes the entire representation of French architecture between 1495 and 1895, and further compares currents in architecture in Italy, France and the Netherlands directly before Henry IV with those just after him, one will see that the epoch of the great king was a period of healing. Men dropped evil customs and their results and returned to a reasonable regime. But they did not find either the renaissance or the birth of a new style.

The character of ending in art, which the French desire to see here, is far more expressed in the domain of politics, than in that of architecture. The dynasty of the Valois disappeared; the Bourbons ascended the throne; a dam was placed against the destructive elements; the period of the great wars of religion drew to an end.

236. Similarity to the Period of Napoleon.

The period of Henry IV has in more than one respect a similarity to that of the Revolution and of Napoleon I. Men have desired to see in both only the ending, but not the old current still flowing onward. The anarchy in both was shocking at first. In both cases, order was again restored by a ruler belonging to a new dynasty. Both rulers sought to allay the strife of the old parties by an internal fusion policy and to preserve to the nation all its vital forces. The policy of both great men came to a violent end, for the first by foreign crime, for the latter by his own fault.

4. Influence of the Epoch of Henry IV upon the controlling intellectual Forces of the 17 th and 18 th Centuries.

237. Intellectual Tendencies under Henry IV.

The intellectual impelling forces, which determine every art tendency, are closely connected with the spirit of the historical events of a country. As a basis for the clear understanding of everything further, therefore must here be given in sequence the development of these historical occurrences and their intellectual tendencies in the age of Henry IV.

We manifestly stand at one of the chief turning points of the history of France. All elements, that contend with each other, are connected in a mysterious way with the feelings and temperaments of the two great intellectual tendencies, that arose from the mixture of three chief races and successively ruled over the domain of existing France; ⁴⁴³ the Gallo-Roman and the Gallo-german. Every thought and feeling concerning the entire understanding of life was in both camps arrayed against each other.

Note 443. I am unfortunately not in a position to take into account the influences of the peoples, who occupied France before the Gauls; they might be considerable; I always comprise them with the Gallic element.

Besides the strife of the Huguenots for freedom of conscience against the absolute spirit of Rome, the still existing remains of German freedom ⁴⁴⁴ were then drawn up in the field against the imperial Roman despotism. The contest for the preservation of the long enjoyed freedom and rights or for their reconquest was kindled everywhere. All was everywhere referred to the contest of two principles; the spirit of freedom and the spirit of absolutism. After the death of Henry IV all sources of freedom were more and more suppressed; step by step the power of the absolute increased to dimensions never existing before.

Note 444. concerning the existence, until the period of the Revolution, of a consciousness of the original German freedom, I refer to the excellent description by Augustin Thierry in his "considerations sur l'Histoire de France"; it forms the introduction to his "Recits des Temps Merovingiens". 3rd edition. Paris. 1846. Vol. 1.

238. Increase of the absolute Power of the King.

The French kings, especially the Capets, already had again

adopted the idea of reigning after the manner of the Roman emperors. It always remained the ideal of the French kings to strengthen the power of the throne and to replace the system of a division of the royal authority connected with the territorial divisions by the mighty central authority of the Roman monarchy. Every time that a step was possible, this endeavor passed on from reign to reign. Louis the Fat (1108-1137), abbot Suger, and Louis XII or S. Louis (1226-1270) gradually restricted the jurisdiction of the great vassals. Louis XI had broken their power.

a. Motive Forces in the 17 th Century.

239. Two Cardinal Ministers.

By the change of Henry IV to Catholicism, the bond between the king and the Pope was tied anew. The murder of the king and the fall of La Rochelle destroyed the equilibrium, that seemed to be hopefully assured in the wise and powerful hands of the king. The domains within which a freer spirit could develop, were more and more restricted.

The absolute spirit of ancient imperial Rome and that of the popes now impelled the kings without ceasing. Two cardinal ministers, the last being a Roman himself, expressive symbols of this bond between the Pope and the king, attained for their weak or youthful masters the aim in view for a thousand years. The victory of Rome was complete.

From 1624 to 1642, Richelieu ruled France as if absolute. He broke the last power of the nobility, and demolished in 1624 the fortifications of the chateaus and of those cities, that did not serve for the defence of the country. He made the crown independent of the parliament. With La Rochelle (1628) fell likewise the municipal rights and the party of the Huguenots. All subdivisions of the state and all arrangements, that protected the development of the manly freedom of the individual, the feeling of personal responsibility, the free convictions of the person, the spirit of enterprise, and the courage of personal initiative, were then destroyed.

A last attempt of the parliament of Paris and of the nobility to offer armed resistance to the court was suppressed by the second cardinal minister, the Italian Mazarin. Everything then became quiet in France. Only the sole words of Louis

XIV were then heard:-- "I am the State". The only resistance still possible from the Huguenots and from freedom of conscience consisted in the endurance of the frightful dragonnades and in abandoning the fatherland.

240. Louis XIV.

After a contest for a thousand years, we have now reached a single phenomenon uniquely existing in the history of the West; in all domains of life and of art is the most complete realization of a political ideal, the absolute concentration of all powers in an individual, in Louis XIV! This leads in art to a singly existing phenomenon; this is the age of Louis XIV, the so-called great age!

b. Native Forces in the 18 th Century.

241. Beginning of two Tendencies.

Having reached the end of the century and the epoch of the humiliation of France, we again stand at an important starting point, at the beginning of two tendencies; one free and the other rigid. Both are reactions against the absolute spirit of Louis XIV and of the 17 th century. The results of the first appeared at once; those of the second only began thirty years later. The first tendency produced the style of Louis XV, which ended in the Rococo, and the second led to the style of Louis XVI and to the Empire.

The first of these reactions against the absolutism of Louis XIV indeed consisted in the moving of a free spirit. Yet it was merely skeptical and frivolous. The policy of Henry IV had been abandoned; the earnest and dignified spirit of freedom lay prostrate or had emigrated, the revocation of the edict of Nantes had done its work.(1685).

The ancient monarchy had itself gradually cut off or dug up all the roots, without which it could not exist. Its nobility, so to speak, had devoted itself to the culture of frivolity and had become infected. The consequences could not fail to appear.

After the regent and Louis XV had themselves become the incarnation of refined frivolity and of shameless excesses, even the virtuous Louis XVI could no longer save the throne and evade the bloody settlement. He fell as a sacrifice to the other and stricter tendency and the inspiration from the antique, but now for its democracy.

The origin of this new and much deeper enthusiasm could not be at once clear, and it therefore requires an explanation. The chief reason for the enthusiasm here lies in the political misfortunes and in the path upon which they entered to attain their results.

242. Influence of Fenelon.

The soul of Fenelon,⁴⁴⁵ with such a warm feeling for the general welfare, who divined so many things produced in the future, first turned the intellectual dreams of his contemporaries at the end of the 17th century to the antique world. He presented to them Egypt and Greece as the models of perfection and of the social virtues.

Note 445. We here follow the very interesting statement of Augustin Thierry in his "Considerations sur l'Histoire de France".

An inconceivable success soon thereafter came to the history of antiquity, beautified by Rollin as if by a reflection of evangelical morality, so to speak.

The Abbe de Mably followed in the same path. He made into social principles, what these poems and tales had made favorite. He preached social equality. He introduced the words "native land, citizen, the general will, and sovereignty of the people", which afterwards attained to such mighty influence with Jean Jacques Rousseau.

243. Longing for social Renovation.

Preparation was then made in ideas for the vast change of state institutions, which occurred in 1789. The instinct of a social renovation, of an unknown future, that corresponded to nothing in the past of the nation, drove powerfully minds away from all historical national courses.

The idea of the people in the political sense of the word, the ideas of the national unity, of a free and homogeneous society did not then exist. The history of France offered no examples for this. These conceptions could only be made sensible by a more or less forced similarity between the conditions of modern social conditions and the basal idea of the free states of antiquity.

They felt dimly, but strongly, that the history of France, of the rights and privileges of the different public bodies

and of their different classes could only offer to public opinion merely isolated or divergent forces. They felt that, to fuse these so long mutually hostile or rival classes into a new society, another element was required, besides household traditions.

244. Model of the Antique Republic.

Men held in the antique republic an ideal of society, of order and of social virtue, corresponding to what reason and inspiration can represent as the best, the simplest, and the noblest. Such were the democracies of Sparta and of Rome. Their nobles and their slaves were not considered; men took from the ancient world only what corresponded to the misfortunes and the intelligence of the new world.

245. Influence of the Third Estate; Empire Style.

The movement then proceeded from the third estate, striving for recognition. Therefore that adopted from antiquity by the citizens and the people rested on a much broader base. This explains the conviction with which they were carried out, often ludicrous and without real refinement. It was the most thorough, yet the least intellectual, conception of the antique since the beginning of the Renaissance. Yet the genuine inspiration of the people adds a certain tendency to grandeur, which cannot be denied to the better works of the Empire style.

5. Effects of the intellectual Tendencies of the Age of Henry IV upon Art between 1610 and 1750.

246. Three Intellectual Tendencies.

The embittered strife of the Huguenots and the League had more strongly expressed the spirit of absolutism and had spurred it on to new exertions. Likewise had they filled the spirit of freedom, of individual initiative and responsibility, which was never as clearly expressed architecturally as in the Gothic style, with new hope, unknown since the political strokes of Louis XI.

The mighty advancement in all domains during the twelve quiet years of Henry's reign had likewise animated with rich hope the spirit of the foreign policy of the king.

In the epoch of Henry IV, there were thus three opposed main intellectual tendencies, the spirit of freedom, the spirit of absolutism, and Henry's spirit of conciliation. These are

motive forces of greatest importance to the later fate of the architecture of the French Renaissance. Directly or by its results, it should determine the character of its phases or call forth the elements, which the latter were adapted to perfect. The first result of this would be to lend a more intensive character to the two currents of French architecture flowing beside each other, the freer and the severer, to which we have frequently referred, and whose fate will be more fully described later.

a. Effects of the free intellectual Tendency.

247. Repeated Contests.

It is very important to follow in this period the fate of the spirit of freer individuality, which had found its highest expression in Gothic architecture, and which had yet borne beautiful flowers in the first half of the 16th century. A comparison derived from the movements of a stream, should clearly represent the intensity, the recurrence, and the duration of its various contests.

As water flowing at a higher level cannot suddenly flow quietly into a lower channel, without first shooting forward in a mighty wave immediately after its fall, then calming down in waves continually becoming smaller, just in the same manner arose the older and newer conceptions of individual freedom combined against absolutism, ever becoming mightier in the state, as well as in art. The Huguenot wars of 1562-1598 were those most powerful and ever rising waves. Then followed the three smaller ones of 1621-1628. The unrest of the earlier and then of the later Fronde (1648-1653) were the last swells before the quiet of the age of Louis XIV.

248. Reaction against Antique Art about 1600.

Among the different forms, it was always and everywhere the contest of the spirit of individual freedom and individual rights against the continually increasing encroachments of the spirit of the Roman Caesars in the Catholic church and in the French monarchy. Therefore it cannot be surprising, that in certain circles there should now appear likewise a reaction against the art of ancient Rome. For it also laid on the individual artist many restrictions of the personal imagination and a severe training of all his faculties. This reaction

showed itself in two different directions:-- first in the endeavor to reanimate the national elements, and secondly in the borrowing of Flemish and Dutch elements in order to strengthen the former.

249. Return to the National.

The first tendency appears in architecture in a kind of rebellion against the antique orders and the restrictions connected with their use.⁴⁴⁶ This was already believed to be somewhat more national.

Note 446. And then it is a kind of satisfaction to see one's self freed for a moment from the imitation of the antique, from the pretended Doric or Corinthian orders, from columns set before the work with which they have nothing to do, colossal pilasters that violate the logic of construction, from reproductions of arches of triumph, baths or temples, in our houses built by men, living and acting in the modern way. (Lemonnier, *H. L'Art Français* etc. Paris. 1893. p. 53.

"Almost everywhere", says Lemonnier, "may be seen in this period a resumption of the realistic spirit. Men almost everywhere endeavored to again arouse the feeling of their own personality, of their era, and of their country". This judgment is perfectly correct. In the domain of the formative arts in northern countries, the return to the national elements constantly leads to a certain realism.

The following observation is also evidence of the awakening of the national spirit.

250. Reaction against the Academic Spirit.

The designation of the age of Henry IV by a Frenchman as an epoch between the Renaissance (according to French ideas, the 16th century) and the triumphant academism under Richelieu and Louis XIV, makes another side of this character prominent.⁴⁴⁷ For in the Renaissance, the antique plays the fertilizing part, so to speak, and the academies are again inseparable from the antique conception of art. The disappearance of the academies in this epoch was not only the result of the unrest of the time, but the reaction of the native Gallo-Frankish or Gothic spirit against the constant increase of the Gallo-Roman in religion, art, and in government.⁴⁴⁸

Note 447. During the half century between 1584, in which

the Academy of the Palace dissolved, and the year 1634.1635, in which the French Academy originated, there existed no Academy in France. (See a later and fuller treatment under Academies).

Note 448. To make all correct, it should not be forgotten, that there are two conceptions of the national in France:-- the Gallo-Roman and the Gallo-Frankish.

It is conceivable that in this period the strife of the guilds with their Gothic, i.e., national and likewise more popular ideas, was especially animated against the royal masters and the revival of the academies. As partisans of the antique, the latter were both an aristocratic selection, as well as the promoters of the foreign tendency in art. From the same source sprang the inclination towards Netherlandish art then, in which the Gallo-Frankish tendency felt it to live a again.

251. Sympathy for Flemish and Dutch Art.

The second tendency appeared in a sympathy for the elements of the arts of those peoples, which either likewise belonged to the Gallo-Frankish art tendency, like the Flemings, or like the flourishing Federal Dutch republic allied with Henry IV, who fought most energetically against the Spanish-Roman absolutism.

It cannot be made sufficiently prominent, that these Flemish-Dutch influences under Henry IV, so to speak, begin with the edict of Nantes and end at the same time with the last struggles for freedom in the Fronde. When Louis XIV began to reign, they appear to have entirely disappeared, like all other movements of the free spirit.

252. Sympathy for the free Forms of Michelangelo.

Another appearance of the spirit of freedom consisted in an adherence to the spirit of caprice and unrestricted imagination of the late phase of the 16th century, and further in connection with this, in a preference for treatment of details by Michelangelo and his pupils, with a sympathy for the irregular elements in Spanish literature. We shall recognize the effects of these elements in the free tendency of the age of Louis XIII, as well as their revival in a modified spirit in the art of Louis XV.

b. Effects of the Spirit of Absolutism.

253. Uniform Direction of all Arts.

The results of the spirit of absolutism lead more and more to the concentration of all spheres and elements of art according to a uniform plan. By the recently founded royal French Academies in Paris and Rome, all sources in France and Italy were concentrated, studied methodically and directed according to a regulated tendency. They culminated under Lebrun and Louis XIV in a unity, such as history perhaps never has seen before or since, and whose results deserve to be followed with the greatest attention. Spanish despotism, the spirit of the counter reformation, of the popes and of the Jesuits, each of these sources of the absolute has a certain participation in this very interesting phenomenon, and it is partially reflected and in different degrees in the art of Louis XIV.

The fate of the spirit of conciliation of Henry IV and of his fusion policy will be discussed later in the proper place.

g. Influence of Foreign Nations on the Art of the 17th Century.

254. Undecided Tendency in Architecture about 1610.

The regular and unbroken increase of Italian elements in the French architecture of the 16th century had as a result, that already under Louis XIII the styles of churches and palaces in France and Italy can scarcely be distinguished apart. In opposition thereto are to be carefully considered two phenomena in the first third of the 17th century, which are mentioned by Frenchmen. The first is a kind of undecided tendency in French art, the second consists in the influences of various other foreign nations, especially an important Flemish influence, that controls about 1660. The French writers themselves appear to have made few inquiries concerning the basis of these phenomena. For a long time, I was not entirely convinced of the correctness of these views, and I believed that there were to be viewed merely national peculiarities, in case they were not exaggerated, and which required no assumption of foreign influences for their explanation. Only gradually could I convince myself of the correctness of these statements, or more accurately stated, of their partial correctness, for these phenomena properly came to light in only one of

the two currents of French architecture. At bottom, the regular increase of Italian influence appears to have never ceased, just as little as the Huguenots succeeded in winning the right of further existence for the feeling of a Gallo-Frankish mode of thinking, that made France great in the middle ages, beside the newly awakened Gallo-Roman views.

While I gradually determined the actual occurrence of these phenomena, I succeeded at the same time in finding their explanation. It lies in their direct connection with the chaos and anarchy during the Huguenot wars and the League, to which I have therefore called particular attention. (See Art. 213). This indecision and the swaying between different foreign influences are the results of diversity of interests and desires, that prevailed in the minds of the time, and which were in dispute for more than thirty years.

The influence of foreign nations, excepting the already existing Italian influence, were again on the one hand the results of their power, on the other of the sympathy of the Catholics and the Huguenots for those neighboring nations, which most strongly acted for and against Rome and the Reformation, and whose arts and natures exhibited elements, that corresponded to the spirits and peculiarities of both parties.

255. Statements of Lemonnier.

To support these statements, we give here a few passages from Lemonnier and from Henri Martin.

"If the art of about 1610 be considered," writes the former (p. 59), "it is then scarcely possible to know whither it will lead; so great is the number of elements, that are acting in it:-- antique, Renaissance, Italian, Flemish, the beginning art of the Jesuits, and national traditions; everything mingles together, or more correctly, is placed side by side. Do we stand there before ruins or before new materials? It is hard to say". Are not these words an accurate reflection of the condition of anarchy, that we have described in Art. 213?

"There were so many contradictions", Lemonnier continues, "between theory and temperament, between artistic and literary theories and the ancient roots of the soul, that men scarcely knew where to turn, and therefore opposed reactions were unavoidable. -- In the year 1622, when Rubens had begun his

gallery of the Luxemburg, our art yet lingered in that state of indecision, that was especially adapted for subjection to a foreign influence. Hence Rubens passed over without being noticed, so to speak ---. At the court were mingled without combining, Italian refinement, Spanish earnestness and French vivacity; customs frequently had more of debauchery than of gallantry; men perceived something like a remnant of brutality beneath the endeavor after courtesy, the earnestness of the king and his ministers did not pass to their surroundings, and under Anne and Mazarin little of it remained".

Finally in the first portion of the 17 th century, Lemonnier states, that French art received more than it gave. In its intellectual development, France was not yet in a position to suffice completely for itself. Its history and geographical location led to more or less close relations with the neighboring peoples.

256. Views of Henri Martin.

This condition of the French spirit manifested itself in another domain. "In literature", says Henri Martin, "the first third of the 17 th century is an epoch of transition, more of preparation than of creation. Men sowed more than they reaped".

From this it may be seen, how very important it is to see as clearly as possible the nature and extent of the influence of these peoples upon the development of French architecture after Henry IV.

1. Influence of Spain.

257. Basis of Spanish Influence.

The true centre of Catholic affairs was no longer Rome but Spain. In the bull of Feb. 15, 1559, Paul IV and the papacy humbled themselves before the inquisition created by him, and to this Philip II had personally sworn allegiance. It was Spain, which impelled the French court against the reformed and to their extirpation by every means. Along the Pyrenees, in the Netherlands and in Picardy, into the Free County and Burgundy penetrated Spanish possessions in France; to this was added the position in Italy held by Spain. The arrival of the Spanish army under the duke of Parma in 1590 alone prevented the fall of Paris. From 1591 to 1594, Paris had a Spanish garrison.

"The political influence of Spain in France during the League", writes Henri Martin, "was predominant; but its literary influence continued into the 17th century. For thirty years prevailed an imitation of the Spanish. This invasion of Spanish somewhat disconcerted the spirit of the Renaissance in France. When Richelieu carried out the anti-Spanish policy, the Renaissance took the offensive anew in the names of Aristotle and of Horace, against the irregular pieces imported from Spain".

258. Influence of the Court.

We further see by the mediation of the court and by its ever increasing influence, the Spanish element affect French art. "The new court etiquette introduced by Henry III in 1574," says Henri Martin, "endeavored to keep off the great, the nobles and the subjects. It substituted the reserve and the stately stiffness of the Spanish and English ceremonial in place of the familiarity, so dear to the French, and of ready access to the king".

"However our Frenchmen," says Lemonnier (p. 63), "might make merry over certain things at the court of Madrid, they brought back with them from an embassy beyond the Pyrenees a certain air, which they had acquired there. Never were the embassies so numerous as between 1600 and 1630. Under the regency of Maria de Medici men went in troops; our show diplomats sometimes had a retinue of from 100 to 200 nobles, anxious to show their luxury and to see the beautiful Spanish ladies".

To this was now added the influence of the two daughters of the Spanish king, who teen successively ascended the throne of France:-- Louis XIII married in 1615 Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip III, and in 1659 Louis XIV married Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV. "Louis XIV", says Henri Martin, "in 1661-1672 developed a system of noble and solemn gallantry, whose tastes and customs he had acquired from his Spanish mother, Anne of Austria".⁴⁵¹

Note 451. The etiquette, without adopting the extravagant restraints, that prevailed at the Spanish court and which the French spirit would not have endured, took an unknown extension in the relations of the assumption of royal magnificence.

It was calculated to serve the monarchy at the expense of the aristocracy. The differences between the classes were lessened; but the distances between all of these and the king were increased.

If one remembers that the style of Louis XV. actually denoted reaction of the true Franco-Gallic spirit against the entire system of Louis XIV., it always becomes more probable, that in the intellectual tendency of the great king and of his age were combined more reserved Spanish dignity, Spanish ceremonial and Castilian gravity, than is otherwise appropriate to the French spirit. The result of this was doubtless a perceptible influence on the character of the court. By the determining role of the latter, it was transferred to art and produced at least two important occurrences; it helped the character of severity, as we shall see, and it produced the so-called pose.⁴⁵²

Note 452. Pose is like a foreign spirit and guest, that places itself beside the natural man and into which he slips, in order to have the appearance in the eyes of the world of being intellectual and really more, than he actually is. In none of the countries, in which I have lived, has this appeared to me so much as in France. To Gothic France, as well as to that of the 16th century, to that great and original character, Henry IV., posing was entirely unknown. It began under Louis XIII., was enthroned under the great king from the sole of the foot to the apex of the wig, perhaps diminished somewhat under Louis XV., revived strongly under the appearance of the antique with the first Republic and the Empire, to only disappear from French art in the last quarter of the 18th century, it is hoped forever.

2. Spanish-Flemish Influence.

259. Spanish-Flemish Influence.

From the purely Spanish as well as from the purely Flemish influences is to be distinguished the effect of the mixture of the two in the Spanish possessions in Belgium. Catholic France constantly had its eyes turned on the Netherlands. After Charles V and Philip II., there was the chief base for Spanish undertakings against France. From thence came Farnese and Mansfeld to the help of the League. In this way might

even the Spaniards became a means for lending influence to the purely Netherlandish-Flemish influence likewise.

But we believe ourselves also able to produce examples of the influence of the Spanish-Flemish mixture.

The facade of Church S. Marie at Nevers, with the bold relief of its projecting columns, the heavy and labored pediments of the windows, doors and niches, the simplified yet broadly and boldly treated detail of consoles, hermes figures etc., exhibits rather the character of Flemish-Spanish art, than of the timid and more moderate French architecture.

On the peculiar facade of the ruined Monastery of S. Amand near Valenciennes (on the tower dated 1633), there appears to me to lie a Spanish or almost Spanish-Mexican influence of the Flemish in the decoration, in the colossal interlaced bands, and in the peculiar ornaments.

It would be further advisable to investigate, whether that style termed Jesuit north of the Alps be not likewise the Spanish-Flemish development of the Italian type, which Vignola established in the Church of the Jesuits at Rome. Men appear in France to have adhered rather to Italian models and to have avoided the peculiar Spanish-Flemish turgidity.

3. Flemish Influence.

260. Surprising in its Occurrence.

If one thinks of the wonderful works of French Gothic on the one hand, and of the incredible mastery in composition, as well as in the development of the members, which it retained till the end; if one considers on the other hand the inexhaustible charm of the Italian Renaissance and of the masterworks of every rank, which it produced in all domains, -- then is the existence of a Flemish influence upon French art between 1600 and 1660 at first extremely surprising.

261. Explanation thereof.

One asks how this occurrence might become possible, after France had already been for a hundred years more and more connected with Italian art. The fact is stated by all Frenchmen, but few seem to understand the reason for this phenomenon. Destailleur frequently said to me, that he had been unable to find an explanation for it. Lemonnier mentions some points, that are correct. But I first found a complete expli-

explanation in one of the detailed studies of Courajod. For a better understanding, we will give some of the statements of that work of Courajod here.⁴⁵³ Already at the beginning of the 14 th century, several Flemish sculptors of fame were to be seen at work in Paris. About 1350 the naturalism of the Flemish school had become naturalized in Paris and had been adopted in northern France. When Flanders passed under the Burgundian sceptre, and the latter country retained a long period of peaceful prosperity, while after 1407 the royal provinces were artistically inactive as a result of the war, the Flemish influence combined with the Burgundian and was predominant as a national art during the 15 th century in France. The Flemish-Burgundian art begins with its masterworks in Dijon of 1390-1410. The Burgundians (i.e., Flemish art) remained in France the national art until the moment, when Michel Colombe left this school, borrowed the nobility and elegance of the Italian style, and founded in the valley of the Loire, entirely saturated with Italian elements, the final style of the French Renaissance, when he added French peculiarities.

Note 453. Courajod, L. *Les Origines de la Renaissance en France aux 14e et 15e Siecles*. Introductory lecture. Feb. 2. 1887, at the School of the Louvre. Paris. 1888.

After Courajod had most clearly shown this position of Flemish art, its reappearance under Henry IV becomes entirely clear, especially if one recalls, that during the greatest part of the 16 th century the French remained in connection with the Flemish school through the Clouets and others, especially in their portrait painting.

The otherwise in nowise general but merely partial adoption of Flemish elements was thus simply one of the forms of the return to the national art tendency, which we have shown as one of the consequences of the Huguenot movement. (See Art. 264).

Let the following pertinent occurrences be mentioned here.

262. Examples of Flemish Influence.

In the year 1553, still as king of Navarre, Henry considered the founding of a Flemish colony in Bearn, in order to introduce there the weaving of tapestry.⁴⁵⁴ Later (1602), he also aided in France the manufacture of tapestries after the style of Flanders.⁴⁵⁵

Note 454. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1879. p. 237.

Note 455. See Martin, H. *Histoire de France*. 4th edition. Paris. 1855-1860. Vol. 10. p. 459.

Henry IV later invited to his court important Flemish masters, such as Franz Pourbus, Paul Bril and Francheville. They had all staid in Italy, and the last named, as well as his instructor, Jean Bologne, had become Italians, so to speak. The fame of a master like this, and yet more that of Rubens, of the sole artist north of the Alps, who can be placed beside the six heroes of Italian art, must necessarily have cast extraordinary splendor on the entire Flemish school.

In the years 1622-1625, Rubens sojourned in Paris at least twice, to paint his famous compositions from the life of Maria de Medici for one gallery of Palace Luxemburg. The second gallery with those of Henry IV was unfortunately not executed. It is usually assumed that Rubens exerted as good as no influence on the French. Yet we shall have to refer to certain vestiges in case of the Barocco-like style tendency under Louis XIII.

263. Flemish Guild in Paris.

In Paris from 1626 to 1691, there was a guild of the Flemish nation. It was formed from the Catholic assembly of illustrious Flemish, German, Swiss and other nations, and was founded in 1626 at the desire of the archduchess Eugenie, so that their countrymen in France might not pass over to Protestantism "under the specious title of the law of nations". Besides the famous engravers on copper, Gerard and Jean Edelinck from Antwerp, later naturalized, A. de Montaignon⁴⁵⁶ finds several Flemish merchant tailors, and he thinks, that they may have influenced taste in men's clothing in France.

Note 456. In *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1877. p. 158.

As related facts should be mentioned, that in the time of Richelieu and of the society of Hotel Rambouillet (about 1630), the general fashion of costume came to France, not from Spain, but from Flanders and holland; it was there only slightly refined.⁴⁵⁷

Note 457. See Martin. Vol. 12. p. 124.

Even in the 18 th century, we can see in case of Watteau and of Vanloo, Flemings among the first masters in France.

Men feel inclined to regard this Franco-Flemish phase as a kind of stronger early Renaissance of the 17 th century. It might be intended to strengthen France with northern individualism, at least so far as necessary, so that its art might at least remain alive under the frightful attacks of the opposed tendency, in which the tone was given by the Jesuits, Richelieu, and Louis XIV.

This Flemish influence moreover appears to me less striking in architecture, than in the other arts. The most important phenomenon must be the occurrence of brickwork even there, where exclusive ashlar construction was usual and indeed cheaper. Yet this fact, as we shall see, should rather be ascribed to the Dutch than to the purely Flemish influence. Under brick construction and the style of Louis XIII, other Flemish elements will be mentioned.

4. Dutch Influence.

264. Purely Historical Proof.

The reason which permits me to conjecture, that the appearance of brick architecture under Henry IV is rather to be ascribed to Dutch, than to Flemish influence, is based on the one hand on the probability, that this tendency toward brickwork proceeded from the Huguenot minister Sully, and on the other to the special relations of Holland to Henry IV.

We first mention the peculiar alliance of the duke of Anjou, brother of Henry III, with five of the seven Netherlandish provinces, in consequence of which the duke was from 1579 to 1583 a rather unsatisfactory chief. By the struggle with the common enemy, Spain, a close alliance was formed between the Huguenots, the party of the king, and Holland. The king's change of faith changed nothing. The marriage of the daughter of Coligny with William of Nassau contributed somewhat to it. 458

Note 458. For many relations between Holland and Henry IV in this period, I refer to the following work:-- Delaborde, J. Louise de Coligny, princess of Orange. Paris. 1890.

The Dutch were in 1597 the only allies of the king, who truly and lovingly adhered to him. They had in June two regim-

regiments beside the 2000 Englishmen in the royal army before Amiens. Maurice of Saxony sought in 1598 to move the king to continue the war. Henry in 1599 favored Holland and challenged the Protestant princes of Germany to not leave it in the lurch. He permitted the Dutch to secretly raise troops in France. Entire regiments passed into the service of the united provinces.

265. Dutch Models.

But a much more important ground is evidence of Dutch influence over France, namely the mighty growth of the young Protestant republic under the leadership of the house of Nassau, in the midst of its heroic combats with powerful Spain. Henri Martin makes it apparent, how very much the Dutch in 1600 were in advance of France in the art of war. Men beat each other in France, says he, but they made war in Holland.

Concerning the military reorganization of France, which Henry and Sully undertook in 1601, he further writes:-- "Everything was done to form a corps of trained officers and to bring the French engineers up to the height of the ancient fame of the Italians and the new fame of the Dutch".

In the harbors of the sea, the sea forces of Holland were at the disposal of Henry IV. After the model of the Dutch and English, he thought of forming a commercial company for India. The king protected in 1603 the development of tapestry manufacture after the patterns of those of Flanders, and that of fine linens after Dutch models. Just as the French system of fortification by Vauban was produced by a combination of the new Italian with the Dutch system, which was again a transformation of the former, -- just so did French art adopt something of the Dutch beside the Italian models.

5. Influence of the Antique in the 17 th Century.

266. Permanent Influence of the Antique.

The "creed" of antique art, the belief in an ideal and in perfection, whose source is immortal and lies above the changing, subjective, sometimes capricious views of the successive races, it must be admitted that since the beginning of the Renaissance until the present time, this has remained the ruling motto and the honor of French art. Men must indeed more or less place before themselves the antique as a constantly

present ideal aim. It remained for artists the sole current, even in the period between 1600 and 1660, when the Flemish-Dutch frequently appeared to be the prevailing fashion. It so continued, especially in artist circles, when during the "quarrel of the ancients and moderns" about the end of the 17th century, the standard was raised in the name of the latter against the antique.

267. Free Comprehension of the Antique.

It is now difficult to decide how far the artists in their views of the antique held it freely, or how far they naively deceived themselves in regard to the degree of their approximation to the style of the antique models. The expression of a contemporary of Meissonier, of the Abbe de Fontenai, who himself finds in the works of this prince of the freest Rocco "the noble simplicity of the antique", at least justifies the assumption, that self deception also occurred. The masters certainly thought that they often worked in the spirit of the antique, where we now chiefly behold the expression of the contemporary modern spirit of the time.

If by the influence of the antique be understood a close adherence to the forms on the ruins of ancient Rome, one must admit, I believe, that this influence is less perceptible upon the architecture of France between 1600 and about 1730, according to modern views, than one would think from the words of certain writers.

With the exception of the colonnade of the Louvre, in which at least breathes the grand spirit of imperial Rome, and a very noble treatment of the Corinthian order recalls the beauty of antique models, all buildings on which the orders play an important part appear to me to fraternize so strongly with Italian architecture and the Italian interpretation of antique forms, that nowhere would one attempt to think of a direct influence of the antique, but would constantly see before himself models from Vignola, Palladio and Scamozzi. The beautiful treatment of the foliage on the Corinthian capitals on the Val-de-Grace or on the Palace of the Institute certainly show, that the master with the severe tendency had studied more the antique capitals than contemporary works in Rome, or that he did in architecture as Poussin did in painting. Among his contemporaries in Italy, he esteemed only Domenichino,

but besides nature and the antique, he studied the great Italians of the age of Julius II and of Raphael.

268. Italian Interpretation of the Antique.

The architects then were also men of their own epoch and recognized its needs and rights. They certainly understood, that the applicatio of the antique to modern needs could differ but little from what Italian masters had already originated. Hence it might be that also in that period, the architects and building lords believed, that they saw in the works of modern Italians the most faithful revival of the antique, as we have proved for the epoch of Henry II,⁴⁵⁹ and the more so, when in poetry men then passed from the supposed imitation of the Greeks and Romans to that of the Italians.

Note 459. We have shown (in our monograph on the two Du Cerceaus, particularly in chapter III thereof), how Du Cerceau represents the Temple of Ceres by a design by Bramante for S. Peter's, the House of Tarquin by Raphael's Palace dell' Aquila, the Palace Regia of Numa by a composition borrowed from the designs of Bramante for the Vatican. We have shown that the most antique style, which men could think of in the age of Henry II, was the style of Bramante and of Raphael, especially the still so little known "last manner" of Bramante.

269. French Studies of the Antique.

This relationship to Italian architecture, which is incomparably greater than with the antique, must be the more emphasized, since on the ground of the magnificent antique remains in France, as well as their former Gallo-Roman civilization, many Frenchmen today prefer to hold themselves more independent from Italian art, than is actually the case.⁴⁶⁰ Men desire to see in Poussin not a modern Italian, but a Latin of France.⁴⁶¹ A slight difference certainly existed. But would there really have been Latins again in France, if there had not been modern Italians there? One may question this till now.

Note 460. It did not merely depend upon seeing antique monuments and ruins. It must have been far more important to stand before the works of a living and entirely modern nation, which like the Italians had understood how to take from the antique ruins and reanimate, what was applicable to new needs and in the new spirit.

Note 461. Poussin was accustomed to frequently take antique statues as models, instead of imperfect living models. With the Flemish sculptor Duquesnoy, he measured all antique statues, of Antinous with Algardi, and he observed all their proportions. (See Archives de l'Art Francois. 2nd Series. Vol. 2. p. 272). This custom of Poussin was severely criticized in the Academy Royale at Paris in 1668 by Philippe de Champagne and defended by Le Brun.

270. Studies of French Architects in Rome.

Moreover, from the days of the five great French masters, who had studied in Rome about 1580 (see Art. 137), until the famous works of Desgodetz and from thence until the present time, the direct and thorough study of the antique remains in Rome has never ceased. To this fact alone it is due that French architects, like Salomon de Brosse, Lemercier, Francois Mansart, Claude Perrault, Gabriel and Louis, learned such a beautiful treatment of columns. Without excelling or perhaps even equalling the best models of the Italians of 1500 to 1550, we meet with the orders in the colonnade of the Louvre and in the palaces on the Place de la Concorde at a scale, with an extent and a wealth of rich development, of which the French may justly be proud. To this circumstance is it partly due, that the high Renaissance has never entirely vanished from the stage or from the consciousness of French architects.

271. Effects of the Study of the Antique.

Connected with the new increase in the enthusiasm for antiquity in the age of Richelieu, this study of the antique and of Italian models of the time of Julius II, as well as of Michelangelo's dome of S. Peter's produced likewise in the architecture of the 17th century in France a phase of the best period, that one is justified in designating as classical or as a second edition of the high Renaissance.

Henri Martin writes of this new inspiration in the time of Richelieu:-- "Not the theatre alone returned to antiquity. With the exception of philosophy and of the natural sciences, which had emancipated themselves, everything returned together to antiquity by every good or bad way."

It was an intense revival of the Renaissance, much more radical than the period of the 16th century, and a very system-

systematic effacement of the middle ages. Such an impulse drove our poets to Rome and Athens, our theologians into the arms of the fathers of the church, treading the scholastics beneath their feet, our artists especially to the more or less happy reproduction of antique costumes and customs, and it drove our monarchy to the forms and spirit of the Roman empire, until our literate democrats returned to the antique republic, and the scorn increased for the ages, that separated antiquity from the modern period.-- The era of the monarchy broke with the past of France to unite itself to a far distant past, which was that of our masters, our instructors, a and not of our ancestors".

But in the 18 th century the enthusiasm for the antique republics lent to antique models still greater authority. The discovery of Herculaneum and of Pompeii and an acquaintance with the ruins of Athens contributed their part to this and left their traces in French architecture since 1750.

6. Italian Influence.

(1600-1750).

272. Its great Importance.

The Italian influence is so strongly and uninterruptedly continued during the second period of the development of the Renaissance, that an entire volume would be produced, if we desired to include here everything relating to it. We must therefore be satisfied by mentioning the essentials in the cases sometimes coming under consideration. Moreover some sides of this question must be touched on here, that have a general character, and which may contribute to a more correct conception of the conditions. We recall then, that already in reference to the influence of the antique, the Italian exterior was mentioned, under which that frequently appeared.

One meets among Frenchmen certain views concerning the relations of their architecture to the Italian during this period, that are but partially correct, when more closely considered, and which therefore frequently lead to conclusions, that injure the understanding of architecture in both countries. The first of these opinions, which assumes the removal of Italian influence during the period of 1595-1635, will be examined under the so-called style of Louis XIII.

273. Erroneous Comparison of France and Italy.

A second opinion of many Frenchmen is, that their architecture in the 17th and 18th centuries avoided the excesses, extravagances and offenses against a refined taste, that characterize contemporary Italian architecture, and that it was able to retain a dignified and imposing character. There is apparently much truth in this view, especially if one compares the more severe buildings that arose in France, from the Church Val de Grace to the Church of Invalids, the Palace Chapel of Versailles to the Pantheon, merely with the bad examples of the Italian Barocco.

Yet the comparison instituted in this manner is not absolutely correct and final. Two other points of view should likewise be considered, of which men think too rarely or even not at all. First, that in Italy beside the Barocco was a severer tendency, and secondly, that it would be fair to compare the best buildings of France not merely with the contemporary Italian works, but also with those of the same tendency of style, i.e., with the earlier Italian monuments, which the French had placed as models and patterns before their eyes.⁴⁶² In this way, not only would the decision be more just, but it would also be more honorable to both countries and more instructive for purposes of study.

Note 462. A comparison with what is seen in contemporary painters will place these facts in a clearer light. Poussin himself admits taking as models, not the contemporary Italians, but the antique and Raphael. Leseur, the Frenchman most inclined to the peculiarities of Raphael, never visited Italy in person and only knew the great native of Urbino from drawings and engravings, which Poussin supplied to him. Just in the same way proceeded the architects in the severe tendency from Richelieu to Napoleon. We have called attention to the connection of the architecture of the Place des Victoires at Paris with the about a century earlier Palace Magnani Guidotti in Bologna (See Art. 49). On the fireplace by J. Le Pautre, which Guilmaré reproduces on Plate 24 (in *Les Maîtres Ornementistes*. Paris. 1881), the figures are strongly influenced by those in Raphael's School of Athens, and in the Fountain by Ch. Le Brun (Guilmaré, Pl. 26), the two river gods are

no less influenced by the reclining figures of Michelangelo on the tombs of the Medici at Florence.

The masters of Val de Grace, of the Church of Invalids, and of the Pantheon, had before their eyes Michelangelo's dome of S. Peter and the best parts of the interior, which were then also attributed to Michelangelo instead of Bramante. They then endeavored with sufficient free dom to do themselves all honor as architects by creating new art works in the same tendency and the same spirit as the best Italians. According to these undoubted endeavors and the models taken by them must their own undertakings be judged, at least in part.

274. Continuation of the high Renaissance in the 17 th Century.

This fact of the close connection with the Italian Renaissance thus aids in the better recognition of the real character of the best period of French architecture in the 17 th century. It appears still more clearly as classical and as the continuation of the Italian and French high Renaissance of the 16 th century. The correctness of the assumption made by us, that the classical period of the 17 th century is entirely a phase of the Renaissance style, is thereby further strengthened. But it is still to be made prominent, that this is chiefly true of church and palace architecture, much less for private architecture, where the French elements are much more numerous or so appear.

275. Insufficient Knowledge of Italian Architecture.

Another error, into which one involuntarily falls, is that in this comparison one has almost only Rome before his eyes, but does not sufficiently consider all Italy and its buildings. In the comparison of the architecture of the two countries one forgets, that their circumstances are diametrically opposed.-- After Henry IV, the best of all France converged in Paris more and more; there were in Italy innumerable questions of art; the masterpieces are divided among a hundred cities; all Italy is a museum.⁴⁶³ It is therefore infinitely more difficult to place before one's eyes a general picture of all phenomena of Italian architecture and to do justice to all its elements.

Note 463. A similar distribution of the monuments over a

great part of the country is found in France during the Romanesque, the Gothic, and the first period of the Renaissance. In the comparison between Italian and French works, one should not forget, that the chief value of a building lies in the employment of a motive, which was borrowed from an Italian building or an Italian design, whose general appearance and purpose were entirely different. Hence influences and similarities are frequently denied by superficial authors with surprising obstinacy, just as many architects and art connoisseurs are frequently much deceived concerning the degree of their knowledge of Italian architecture. One is mostly acquainted with only some phases of a few schools.

276. Influence of Michelangelo.

In the consideration of this period, one is perhaps too much inclined to regard as Flemish, what is merely a Flemish interpretation of forms, not borrowed from the severe, but always from an Italian tendency, namely that of Michelangelo and his successors. Several reasons explain the influence of this master. Firstly, the vast importance, besides his greatness as an artist, which the peculiarity of his position as architect of the Church of S. Peter (1547-1564) gave to him. Secondly, the beautiful treatment of his dome of S. Peter, by which it became a model for the severe tendency of domical architecture in France. Thirdly, the free and capricious treatment of form prevailing in many of his works, again gave him the sympathy of artists in the free phases and currents of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Relative to the free tendencies under Louis XIII and Louis XV, we shall return to the last mentioned influence of Michelangelo ⁴⁶⁴ and otherwise refer to what has already been said about it in Art. 52.

Note 464. We shall there return to the two groups of his successors, which carried further the tendency of Michelangelo.

A series of other facts shows the important influence of Italy in various ways.

277. Italians in France.

Firstly, missions like that of de Chambray to Rome (about 1640), to invite important Italian artists and art workers to settle in France, ⁴⁶⁵ or Frenchmen like Poussin, who had trained themselves in Italian art.

Note 465. See what was already said on this in Art. 48.

Such influences are to be ascribed to the long continued activity of Romanelli (about 1640-1660) and of his companions Grimaldi and Borzone, further the calling of Bernini to Paris in 1665, where for eight months, he was treated like a great lord. Stefano della Bella (1610-1664) from Florence, named La Belle by the French, was in Paris from 1640 to 1650.

278. Frenchmen in Italy.

A second proof arises from the fact, that this is the epoch in which the most important Frenchmen began to stay in Italy for long periods. Similarly to the earlier great Flemings, G. Bologna, Francheville (Pa. Francavilla) and Duquesnoy, Poussin and Claude Lorraine then settled entirely in Rome, and their art tendency belongs far more to their new home, than to their former one.⁴⁶⁶ Only in the temperament of Poussin is the Frenchman again found, and as in Salomon de Brosse, an echo of the great fusion spirit of Henry IV.⁴⁶⁷

Note 466. See later on this subject (in the mention of the architects) the passages concerning young architects sent to Italy on account of their studies.

Note 467. Etienne Du Perac was in Italy at least from 1564 to 1585, and Lemercier from about 1607 to 1613; Simon Vouet returned in 1632 from a stay of 15 years there; Sarrasin returned in 1628 from a long sojourn.

In the peculiar phenomenon of Salomon de Brosse, the influence of Vignola is not yet clearly visible. As we shall see, his severe spirit appears to be more allied to the works of some great north Italians, like Palladio, Domenico Cortoni, Pellegrini, Fabio Mangone, and sometimes Ammanati in his severer tendency. Only after the death of Salomon de Brosse (1626) does the influence of Vignola and of Scamozzi appear to be gradually adopted in the severe tendency.

h. Development of the Style Tendencies of the second Period of French Renaissance Architecture.

(About 1610-1735).

279. Subdivisions of the Style.

The period of French architecture, that we have designated as the second period of development of the Renaissance (about 1610 to 1635), may according to the point of view be subdivided into different styles or chronological epochs.

The division of this period into the styles of Louis XIII, Louis XIV, and Louis XV, possesses great convenience as already stated. If one be satisfied with what is usually understood by these styles, the representation is still very imperfect; the conceptions frequently become entirely erroneous, a correct understanding is almost an impossibility.

Many Frenchmen divide this period into the century of Louis XIV and the epoch of Louis XV. According to this method, the century of Louis XIV comprises nearly the two first phases of the second period of development, and the age of Louis XV is the third or last phase. Thus the style connection between the third and the first two phases is lost. Lemonnier justly makes it prominent, that the designation of the century of Louis XIV has gradually falsified the history of the 17th century.⁴⁶⁸

Note 468. "The name of the century of Louis XIV has finally falsified the history of the 17th century. Everything has been made to begin in France, not only with the century but with the king, and moreover all has been attributed to our country, or nearly all, and almost nothing to the rest of Europe. Voltaire has contributed more than any other person to the extension of these ideas". (in *L'Art Français*, p. 23. -- One should read in Lemonnier the entire chapter 2).

In connection with this opinion are many other Frenchmen, who date all events in the 17th century from the famous entry of Louis XIV into Paris after his marriage (1660).

280. Subdivision of the 17th Century in two parts.

Lemonnier accepts this prominence of the 17th century as a kind of whole, just as one also usually speaks of the 16th century. He then assumes two divisions in the 17th century (p. 28); the first being from the death of Henry IV to the entry of Louis XIV (1610-1660). This division certainly corresponds to several important events; yet for architecture it leads to new misunderstandings and erroneous conceptions. The year 1660 indeed nearly coincides with the disappearance of the free individual tendency;⁴⁷⁰ but on the other hand, the time from 1610-1660 corresponds to phases of the style of tolerably different character. The epoch of 1660-1770 on the contrary entirely separates the last phase from the period to

which it belongs, while the entire time of 1610-1700 moreover comprises only two thirds of the actual period in which it is to be placed.

Note 470. Before 1660 are to be found impulses of a certain individuality, a certain fineness and a more acute precision in forms, together with certain Flemish influences. Every thing is smoother during the second half. Even straight lines and surfaces appear less definite and lose something of their true precision.

281. Division according to the two Style Tendencies.

A third mode of subdivision arises, if one follows out the fate of architecture in the free and the severe tendencies of the second period, and assumes this as a basis. So far as known to us, this method has never yet been attempted. But it permits the following of the connection of the separate phases and of the separate branches of the currents and of their development with such clearness, that after long hesitation, we have decided to choose this method for the principal description, and to permit the subdivision according to phases to follow as a valuable extension only in the final consideration.

If one does not also follow the character and the fate of these separate currents themselves, it is impossible to rightly understand the nature of all the phenomena found in the phases, sometimes in the different phases, and still less in the subdivisions of the architecture according to the reigns; just as little is it possible to perfectly understand their general character.

282. Division according to Phases.

The division of the period into phases, as we have done for the first period, has certain advantages on its own part. It makes easier the comparison of the periods with each other. It permits the recognition of the general character of the architecture during each important division of the style. Since it finally affords the means for touching upon the so common French method of subdivision in accordance with the reigns of the kings, and for showing all its defects and for remedying them, then is this mode of subdivision better adapted for giving in the final consideration a review of the se-

second period. Our description will extend the other, and in this way will an understanding of the period become possible, which cannot otherwise be obtained to the same degree.

283. Main Currents of the Style.

We have already had opportunity to prove the existence of two main currents flowing beside each other in French architecture since 1500. We emphasize how important were their contemporary effect on each other and to external influences in the origin of the various phases of the style, and we gave a brief outline of these relations.⁴⁷¹

Note 471. See Art. 11, and especially Arts. 87, 88, 89 and 190.

We placed especial weight on the effects of these free and severe currents during and after the high Renaissance. (See Art. 190). We likewise called attention to the importance of the latter for the later phases, and termed it the treasury of all attainments and in a certain way the instrument of French architecture until the present day. (See Arts. 188, 189). This and the court of the Louvre always form one of the sources, to which the severe tendency of French architecture looks back.

This is now the place to follow out the fate of these two main currents in their further development during the different phases. The divergent growth of the phases and their connection will thereby be more clearly shown.

1. Free Style Currents.

(1594-1660).

284. Origin.

The freer direction of the taste of this period appears to substantially proceed from three sources:--

1. From a partial survival of the spirit of the late phase of the first period of development. (Charles IX and Henry III).
2. From the endeavors for freedom variously strengthened by the Huguenot wars, and their consequences.
3. From an influence of irregularity in Spanish literary works.

This epoch extends between two famous royal entries into Paris, that of Henry IV after long continued wars, and that of his grandson Louis XIV after his marriage, a year before

the beginning of his independent reign.

a. Origin of Details of the Free Current.

285. Importance of Details.

After the high Renaissance in France, details and ornamentation form the essential differences between the different phases and form their characteristics. It is therefore of particular importance to take up this side of architecture.

In the periods previously described, the forms of details, of mouldings and of decoration are substantially based on the antique, and especially upon its interpretation by the school of Bramante and in his "last manner". About the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries may be noticed the ever increasing occurrence of forms of details, which have a freer character and apparently a different origin. The French are accustomed to seek this in Flanders. This view appears to me incorrect, at least unless it be clearly extended. The Flemings were perhaps intermediaries, but the true origin lies in Michelangelo and his school. It therefore appears requisite to enter upon this matter more fully here, and to place it fully in a clear light.

286. Bizarre Tendency.

Within the treatment of details of the free current in Italy and France, I believe that I must here plainly call attention to the existence of two tendencies, that for clearness I will designate as the "bizarre" and the "Barocco". The bizarre tendency proceeds from the severe school of Bramante and Raphael; the Barocco tendency begins with Michelangelo and is further developed in his school. The former substantially predominates in the third phase of the first period of development (Charles IX, Henry III); the latter becomes so in the first phase of the second period. (Phase of Louis XIII).

The bizarre tendency adheres to a sharper and firmer treatment of details and of ornaments. The freer arrangements of these are limited more to giving freer forms to the usual smaller architectural members, especially the details, without confusing the reminiscences of their basal form. Their forms do not recall fabrics, leather etc., whose architectural use in the open air is unusual.

The treatment of forms by Alessi on Palace Marino at Milan

may be mentioned as a type of this tendency.⁴⁷² This is that to be found in the ornaments on the eastern half of the great gallery of the Louvre under Henry IV, where the subdivision into members on the contrary belongs to the Barocco tendency. It is found accompanying the arrangement of brickwork and ash-lars on his Chateau at S. Germain-en-Laye, and similarly in the rare foliage ornament of Palace Luxemburg. On the gallery des cerfs at Fontainebleau, the pilasters of the ground story and the pediment caps of the upper windows belong by their details to the bizarre, and not to the Barocco tendency. To the latter belong only the volutes mentioned in Art. 291.

Note 472. One finds them with Giulio Romano, Giovanni da Udine, Perin del Vago and many others, and they predominate in the cartouche work at Fontainebleau.

Destailleur is thinking of these forms of the bizarre tendency, when he speaks of the false taste and mannerism of the Italian artists employed in France by the last of the Valois, or of the feeling of the style of the Renaissance, that still occurs on the facade of S. Etienne du Mont at Paris about 1610. He means this, when he speaks of the rise of the style of Louis XIII and says:-- "Between 1623 and 1630, the last forms of the degenerate Renaissance were given up for the rather heavy ornamentation of the new style".

Within the Barocco are masters, who were slightly or not at all affected by the swelled treatment of details, but also adhered to the bizarre tendency. The decoration of the vaults in Palace Ritti by Pietro da Cortona must have been gradually transformed from the Loggias of Raphael and avoided the details of Michelangelo. The same may be said of Le Brun's ceilings. It is rather the bizarre, than the Barocco tendency, that mixes again with the severer arabesque forms of Vouet, to gradually form the freer style of Berain and of Daniel Marot, and the proper style of Louis XIV. (Since about 1680).

287. Barocco Tendency.

But in the school of Michelangelo, on the contrary, the forms of structural elements, such as doorways, windows, arches with their piers, consoles, pediments and crowning motives, were drawn into the vortex of the capricious treatment of forms. Harmonious equilibrium of the most unexpected forms was

gradually placed before the observer in the most surprising positions. The grotesque heads lost their human features almost entirely, and assumed in expression something ghostly, vacant and unreal, or they are distorted into all conceivable grimaces.

b. Influence of Michelangelo's Forms on the Style of Louis XIII.

(About 1600-1660).

288. Character of its Details.

Most strongly characteristic of the tendency of Michelangelo and of his school is the material in which certain details appear to be executed, such as cartouches, masks, shields, and the cushions of Ionic capitals, etc. This is not the material of the actual models borrowed from nature or from the art industries, but a soft material, often very difficult to name. One thinks of leather, of dough, of unburnt clay, or of soft and rounded forms, as of a cooked calf's head. Some look like dogs' ears and bats' wings. At other times, these are cut strips of leather or more or less length, rolled up at the ends or hanging.

In the works of Michelangelo on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel at Rome (1508-1512) begins to appear very early the preference for such treatment of forms, although but sporadically. The inscription tablets below the prophets and sibyls are crowned by wings, arranged like broken pediments and showing softly rounded forms of no nameable material.

The same may be said of the helmet and plume of his statue of Il Penseroso in Florence (1519-1533). On Michelangelo's Palace of the Conservators in Rome, the beards and hair of the masks on the Ionic capitals are formed as cut and partly rolled leather strips, and like some other peculiarities, characteristics of the treatment of details in this tendency. The same is true of the cartouche on the doorway of the so-called Vigna of Cardinal Grimani in Rome.

289. Introduction outside Italy.

The circumstance, that the forms are designated as Flemish in France, appears to merely indicate, that they reached France by way of Flanders.⁴⁷⁴ They were somewhat overloaded and heavily shaped, and were employed in more numerous groupings

A Flemish element also was thereby more strongly expressed.

Note 474. Already at the end of the 16th century, this capricious and Barocco tendency of Michelangelo's forms was introduced outside Italy. In Strasburg, for example, occur leather forms on cartouches, masks or ornaments, between 1585 and 1676. On the Hotel de Ville built by Daniel Speckle there may be seen these insinuated in parts. Many of these forms commonly occur, though detached, distributed among others in the fantastically luxuriant compositions of the Architecture of Wendel Dietterlin. (Nuremberg edition of 1598).

In the gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau may already be seen in places in the cartouche borders these scrolls and flaps of stiffly curved or even rolled leather strips. Likewise occur some masks of ape-like or ghostly character, that follow not nature, but models like those of Michelangelo.

The cartouche-like caps of the dormer windows of the Chateau at Bournazel also exhibit an inclination toward such forms.

In the Chateau of Ancy-le-Franc are to be seen on the cartouches of the cabinet des fleurs, already in 1569 or soon afterwards, richly cut rolled work in soft leather forms. On the doorway of the chapel of the Chateau at Ecouen, which Darcel⁴⁷⁵ places in the end of the 16th century, are found leather cartouches and palm forms, which closely approximate to those of the period of Louis XIII. Certain cartouche forms on the gallery of the chapel of the Chateau at Anet are merely conceived to be of soft leather, instead of thin wood, to produce the character of the so-called forms of Louis XIII.

Note 475. In the text of Rouyer and Darcel. *L'Art Architectural en France* etc. Paris. 1859-1866. Vol. 1. Pl. 47. -- The example previously mentioned is illustrated on Pl. 42.

The influence of the architecture of Michelangelo occurs within the free current in two separate tendencies:--

a. Exclusively by his system of treatment of details by an arrangement of brickwork and ashlar of the times of Henry IV and Louis XIII. It gives to the so-called Louis XIII style its apparently Flemish character.

b. By his mode of composition of the larger members and architectural parts, he formed the basis of the proper freer Barocco-like tendency of the style of Louis XIII, from which

was later to proceed the Louis XV style, and finally the Rococo.

c. Origin of the Brickwork, Tendency in the Style of Louis XIII.

290. Style of Louis XIII.

The treatment of details by the school of Michelangelo in the rather heavy and overloaded development, that it experienced in the Netherlands, -- combined with the tasteless tendency toward brickwork of the Huguenot minister Sully.⁴⁷⁶ It is the combination thus produced, that is meant in the first place, when one speaks of the style of Louis XIII in business intercourse and in society language.

Note 476. See Art. 229. The bonded ashlar quoins of the angles and openings were evidently invented by neither the age of Henry IV nor that of Louis XIII. This is the result of the structural combination of ashlars with an inferior material, like rubble or bricks. (See Figs. 141, 143, 144-147). We shall return to this later in connection with the arrangement of brickwork.

291. Examples of the Time of Henry IV and of Louis XIII.

This treatment of details is already visible in places on buildings of Henry IV. Thus on the gallery des cerfs at Fontainebleau; imitated from the side view of the Ionic capitals of Michelangelo on Palace of Conservators in Rome, volutes here project from the wall as terminations of the pilasters, and they appear as if composed of soft, weak and inelastic masses. In the chapel of S. Saturnin in the Chateau at Fontainebleau, there already occur some details with this tendency, dated 1608.

This swelled, leather and dough-like form of details is further frequently found on Fontainebleau on the doorways of the vestibules, that lead to the gallery of Francis I and to the chapel of the Trinity, being in the latter beneath and above the gallery, on the wardrobes, in the scrollwork and on the cherubs' heads of the main frieze, on cartouches, masks, consoles, panels of the spandrels and between the pilasters, on vaults, and these forms from Michelangelo indeed occur in the midst of others, which belong to the severer tendency. Mansart gave in the gallery of Palace Mazarin, which he erected for the antiquities of the Cardinal (now a part of the Libra -

Librarie Nationale at Paris), one of the best examples of the brickwork tendency of Louis XIII. He adhered to the system of the Hotel, that Le Muet built in 1633-1649 for Tubeuf (Fig. 149), and which later became the Palace Mazarin.

We shall return to one of the most famous examples of this tendency, Chateau Beaumesnil, in connection with brickwork in general, in the Chapter on the peculiarities of the style.

We name a few additional examples, that are illustrated in Rouyer's well known work:--⁴⁷⁷

Note 477. Rouyer & Darcel. *L'Art Architectural en France.* etc. Paris. 1859-1866.

The house in Rue du Moulin du Roi in Abbeville (about 1625) with facade of stone and brickwork shows a recurved pediment, dough consoles, cartouches and heavy palms.

The Pavillon des Arquebusiers at Soissons (about 1622; Pl. 19). From the ornaments of the three lowest courses of bosses, one might conjecture the date to be 1560.

The ceiling of the Hall of the muses in the Chateau at Oirson (about 1625; Pl. 21). Leather cartouches and heavy palms.

The chapel in Hospital Hotel-Dieu at Compiègne (about 1630; Pl. 25), leather cartouches, heavy palms, angels with heavy wingu, leather foliage and stems with pearl-like seeds.

Heavy scrollwork with free lines and heavy leaf points, fat rosettes, ceiling panels, partly with leather forms, are to be seen on the ceiling of the chamber of the council in the Assize Court at Paris. (About 1622; Pl. 18).

Tolerably severe are the main forms but with leather cartouches, heavy acanthus consoles and broken forms, are the choir stalls of S. Peter at Toulouse. (After 1659; Pls. 15, 16).

292. Bonded Ashlars without Brickwork.

It should not be forgotten, that the use of bonded ashlar quoins at the angles and openings without brickwork as an exclusively decorative system of a facade are considerably older than the phases of Henry IV and Louis XIII.

We give the following examples of them:--

The bonded quoins of the angles and windows give to the Pavillon of S. Louis in Fontainebleau, already rebuilt under Francis I, and on which the surfaces of the walls are of stone, the same dry and tasteless character, which we observe in the Huguenot tendency of Sully.

In the rebuilding of the Chateau of S. Maur, which De l'Orme undertook for Catherine de Medici, the double pavilions with their bonded quoins of the angles and the windows, as well as in their proportions, had entirely the character of the so-called style of Louis XIII.⁴⁷⁸

Note 478. Illustrated in Du Cerceau. *Les plus excellents Bastiments de France*. Vol. 2. Paris. 1579; also in Geymüller. *Bes Du Cerceau etc.* Paris. 1887. Fig. 100. p. 201.

In the time of Louis XIII are likewise examples thereof. The Chateau of Angeville-Bailleul, not far from Fecamp,⁴⁷⁹ shows at the angles and windows these enclosures by toothed ashlar, that there likewise project from ashlar walls instead of brickwork.⁴⁸⁰

Note 479. Illustrated in Lübke, W. *Geschichte der Renaissance in Frankreich*. 2nd edition. Stuttgart. 1885. P. 299. (After Sauvageot).

Note 480. Gherardo Silvani built in Florence about 1625 the court of Palace Castelli, later Fienzi and now Banca Nazionale in St. Via Cavour, with three series of windows, which merely have toothed ashlar enclosures, as in the so-called styles of Henry IV and Louis XIII; merely the bricks between them and the toothed quoins are lacking at the angles, which he employed on the facade.

d. Barocco-like Tendency of the Style.

293. Influence of Michelangelo.

For the tendency here particularly meant, no French appellation is known to me. Therefore I have proposed a French name (Barocco genre) as an explanation. I conjecture that examples of this tendency are meant, when Rivoalen⁴⁸¹ employs the words "torments and grotesques", and Lechavallier Chevignard further uses the term "macaronic" style.

Note 481. Rivoalen points out various phenomena in the architecture of the time of Louis XIII. It can be severe or be restlessly tortured. Just as well can it show itself gloomy and at other times grotesque. (See Planat's *Encyclopedie de l'architecture*. Paris. 1888-1893. Vol. 6. p. 470).

In the style under discussion, the influence of Michelangelo and his school is much more important, than in the brickwork style, where it only affected certain details. Its freer

and later mode of composition here serves as a basis. Entire buildings in the style of this tendency appear to be rare in France. It must especially extend to the members of the internal architecture. It is found on the exterior chiefly on those structural members, that can be placed within the enclosure of the orders.

Examples of this tendency of that period are found in two works then published; that of the Florentine Alexander Francini,⁴⁸² engineer to the king (1631), and in the work of Barbet,⁴⁸³ dedicated to Richelieu (1633); also further collected in all works engraved by Abraham Bosse.

Note 482. "Alexander Francini, engineer to the Most Christian King Louis XIII, designed this portico of architecture." 1631. Paris.

Note 483. Barbet, J. *Libre d'Autels et de Cheminees*, --- grave par A. Bosse. Paris. 1633.

Figs. 54⁴⁸⁴ and 55⁴⁸⁵ by comparison permit the recognition of the contemporary existence of both tendencies, and to better display the character of the doorway of Francini, represented in Fig. 55, which is suited to the tendency now under examination. In his twentieth doorway with large and heavy cartouches in the tympanum, one cannot know whether leather or dough is used. The shells, wings, draperies, and heads in distorted grimaces moreover exhibit an exaggerated scale.

Note 484. Reproduced from Barbet, *Libre d'Architecture* etc.

Note 485. Reproduced from Colliot and Lance. *Encyclopedie d'Architecture* etc. Paris. After 1851. Vol. 9. Pl. 46.

294. Character of this Tendency.

In general it is the different architectural members of the high Renaissance, such as doorways, windows, tabernacles, fireplaces etc., that serve as a basis and commencing point. But instead of retaining these quiet forms based on constructable motives, these are employed for all conceivable variations. They are transformed, each unit member is subdivided into several smaller parts, and these are so arranged as to present as many contrasts to each other as possible. At the same time, it is sought to combine this great number of elements more closely together, than by mere juxtaposition as in the antique. This is attained by breaks, different common

enclosures, side connections, by consoles etc. From this frequently results an accenting of the vertical principle in the style of the composition and of the elevation.

295. Relationship to the Taste for Affectation.

The character of this style tendency exhibits to us arbitrary caprices, labored combinations and contrasts, overloading of motives, frequent repetition of members and of lines, combined with a broad and rather heavy moulding of separate enclosures.

In several of these tendencies exists a striking relationship of this tendency to the spirit of the then so influential society of *Hôtel Rambouillet*.⁴⁸⁶ Henry Martin says that men had there passed from hatred of the dry and later simple word to the labored turns of affected taste. They came imperceptibly to over refinement, to false taste, and to seeking for circumlocutions.

Note 486. The influence of the laties of this society upon the forms of the plans of the *Hôtel* will be discussed later.

The side doorway of Church S. Louis⁴⁸⁸ at Paris, represented in Fig. 56,⁴⁸⁷ is one of the most expressive examples of this tendency; numerous and in great part heavy enclosing mouldings, several broken and curved pediment forms, heavy cartouches and consoles, are here the characteristic elements. They are found yet more strongly expressed on the door to the gallery of the chapel of the Trinity in the *Château* at Fontainebleau.

Note 487. Reproduction from Daly, C. *Motifs Historiques d'Architecture* etc. 1st series. Paris. 1869.

Note 488. Now S. Paul and S. Louis in Rue S. Antoine.

The doorway by Francini (Fig. 55), and still more the just mentioned doorway of Church S. Louis (Fig. 56), belong to that style, which Rubens introduced into the architecture and ornamentation of Flanders after his return from Italy, and which is today named after him as the Rubens style.⁴⁸⁹

Note 489. See Guilmard. D. *Les Maîtres Ornamentistes* etc. Paris. 1883. p. 499.

296. Examples from J. Barbet.

The collection of fireplaces and altars, which J. Barbet sought among the best examples then in Paris and published in

1633,⁴⁹⁰ also contains a series of examples of this tendency; rich overmantels extending to the ceiling with numerous figures, hermes, consoles, rolled work, vases, masks, cherubs' heads, palms etc. One of these is shown in Fig. 348. On another, the principal enclosing member is composed of rolled and cut strips of leather, as if surrounded by a single great cartouche. On a third, cherubs' heads grew, so to speak, out of a leather mask with numerous rolled strips at the sides and above.⁴⁹¹

Note 490. Barbet.

Note 491. Illustrated in Guilmard. Pl. 16.

297. Macaronic Style.

Other forms of details are frequently added to those mentioned. As Chevignard⁴⁹² truly remarks, architecture as well as language thereby now passed into a macaronic style.

Note 492. Lechevellier-Chevignard, *Les Styles Français*. Paris. 1892. p. 304.

The rolled-up cut-outs of the cartouches, which fall down like waves, are externally strengthened by rolls like caterpillars;⁴⁹³ the latter are also sometimes furnished with a backbone or rib of round seed-like spheres.

Note 493. An expressive example of this tendency, which also occurs sporadically in Wendel Dietterlin, is found in a panel by Abraham Bosse, illustrated in Guilmard. Pls. 17, 18.

298. Auricular Style.

The last development of this tendency in taste, the last Flemish exaggeration of the school of Michelangelo passed into the auricular style with or without pea-pods (cartilage work more or less mixed with carob leaves and distorted grotesques). This tendency of art and taste actually corresponds to the contemporary party of smart libertines (about 1623) and of gormandizers (about 1615). It would be difficult to state accurately what degree of extension of this style was attained in France, and the beginning of which Guilmard placed in the time of the return of Rubens from Italy. He certainly affords opportunity for interesting observations on the nature of the tendency of French taste, which would be repeated in the age of the Rococo. As the fashion of rockwork found a century later its strongest expression, not in France

but in Germany, the auricular style attained its complete development only in German countries, as in Flanders, Holland, Germany and Switzerland. I believe it impossible to develop this fashion in a more complete, exaggerated and tasteless manner, than is done in the works of the master Simon Gamermayer, "citizen and cabinet-maker of the Bavarian city of Wendling-in-Riss";⁴⁹⁴ if so, then the prize would be given to "master Friderich Unteutsch, cabinet-maker in Frankfurt".⁴⁹⁵

Note 494. See Gamermayer, S. Von den Fünff Ordnungen der Seülen in der Bau-Kunst, herausgegeben von Einem der Architectur und derer freyen Künste Liebhaber. Wending. Feb. 1. 1678.

Note 495. See Unteutsch, F. Neues Zirkelbuch. Anderer Theil. Published by Paulus Fürsten. Art Dealer. Nuremberg. No date. (According to Guilford, p. 400, Unteutsch worked about 1650).

Both works are the last words of what the French designate as the Flemish element of the style of Louis XIII.

299. Church S. Marie at Nevers.

A very expressive example of the Barocco in France is afforded by the facade of Church S. Marie at Nevers. The bold effect of the projecting fluted columns with their entablature strongly broken above them, the powerful effect of the broken upper pediment, the most complete Barocco treatment of the p pediments of the upper part, overrich in motives, the doorway, the windows, and the great pediment niche, the luxuriantly heavy and ultra Barocco treatment of the angel hermes figures beside architraves and pilasters, all this lends an energy of character to the architecture, skilfully handled in spite of everything, which one is not accustomed to find in French architecture of that epoch.

300. Influence of Rubens.

The style has something Flemish-Roman, as usual in the vicinity of Rubens. The half octagon (instead of the round arch) at the doorways recalls the same form in the garden of Rubens, that will soon be mentioned.

The nature of the style tendency just indicated is likewise clearly expressed in the engravings of an architect of Amiens, N. Basset (1600-1650).

Note 496. See Guilford. Pl. 15. -- One plate of this series bears the title; "Epitaphs designed by N. Basset of Amiens".

In the panel of an overmantel in the frequently mentioned work of Barbet (Pl. 7), the influence of Rubens is likewise visible in the figures. Other compositions exhibit complicated combinations of various enclosures, as they were liked in Rubens' vicinity.

No. 33 in the work of Francini on Doorways ⁴⁹⁷ represents a doorway spanned by a half octagon (instead of by a round arch), as Rubens constructed in his own garden at Antwerp; a similar one is found at Florence on church Ss Stefano and Cecilia (1656 ? by Tacca). This treatment had also been already employed by Michelangelo about 1560 on his Gate Porta Pia. The drawing of the grotto in the garden of the Luxemburg is ascribed to Rubens by some.

Note 497. "Alexander Francini, Florentine, engineer to his most Christian Majesty Louis XIII, designed this architectural portico". 1631. Paris.

We emphasize these points, since on the one hand most Frenchmen are surprised, that the great masters north of the Alps, who in part worked in Paris for Maria de Medici during 1622-1625, appear to have exerted no greater influence upon their art of that period, and because on the other hand just the most completely expressed and most interesting example to be mentioned refers this style tendency to Rubens.

It consists of a volume of original designs, mostly studies for a treatise on architecture. Since the 17th century, these have been attributed to Rubens himself. They overflow with such an infinite abundance of caprices and talented possibilities of treatment, that they could only be ascribed to an artist, who was an architect like him and a painter of the first rank, even if only the composition in black crayon is by himself, and the execution with the pen was due to some of his numerous assistants. ⁴⁹⁸

Note 498. This album, formerly in the Destailleur collection at Paris, now belongs to Madame Nadine Poloutsoff, and is exhibited in the Stieglitz Drawing School in S. Petersburg.

Another tendency frequently occurring in this period consists in the enormous increase in the scale of certain detail motives, such as shields of arms (under Spanish influence?), cartouches (Figs. 168, 169), or masks. Thus the colossal

mask, whose open mouth serves as the round arched doorway of Casa Zucchero in Rome, that Federigo Zucchero or Zuccaro built for himself (1543-1609). Figs. 168 and 169 show that such ideas also at least occurred in France.

301. Duration of this Tendency.

There must finally be mentioned a remarkable correspondence in the contemporary reaction against this spirit in the architecture and in the literature. Abraham Bosse takes the field against the excesses of this tendency with its overloading by borders with frequently broken angles, consoles, and broken pediments of every form and position, with their twisted columns, garlands, vases and cherubs' heads,⁴⁹⁹ in the same year that Moliere appears in his "Precieuses Ridicules" against the romantic preposterousness, that was already tiresome in high society, but was insufferable in imitative women of humble rank.

Note 499. Fig. 348 gives a scarcely exaggerated illustration, but merely a *penyquiet* example of such a composition.

The words of Bosso are also characteristic otherwise of the year in which the "great reign" begins. He says:-- "To make known that I am of the opinion of those, who do not admire a all the mixed compositions, which some practitioners adapt by their design to the noble and agreeable proportions of antique architecture. No more than the projection or false intersection and the loss of parallelism ---, because all these works belong rather to Gothic than to Greek, from which came to us the good style".⁵⁰⁰

Note 500. Bosse, A. *Représentation Geometrale de plusieurs parties de Batiments* constructed according to the Rules of Antique Architecture. Paris. 1659. 10 places of doorways, not numbered.

If we pay attention to the manner of composition in this tendency, it happens that the late phase of this period, that of the style of Louis XV, is again connected therewith in order to further develop its forms.

e. Hotel and Palace Architecture.

302. Hotel de Longueville.

Even in the midst of the phase considered, usually represented as predominatingly free, the architecture of chateaus and

palaces frequently contains severe elements, that lend to it a mixed character. The two following examples may therefore be nearly as well counted among those of the intermediate tendency. We mention them here before passing to the description of the severe tendency.

The former Hotel de Longueville at Paris (Figs. 57, 305),⁵⁰¹ erected by Clement Metzereaux for the duke de Luynes,⁵⁰² who died in 1621, exhibits the pilaster and niche architecture of the 16th century, combined with the great windows and other elements of the epoch of Louis XIII. It is like a connecting link between the facade subdivision of the contemporary chateaus of Salomon de Brosse on the one hand, with the pilaster facades of the two Mansarts in Blois, Maisons and Versailles on the other.

Note 501. Reproduction from an old engraving by Marot (in Works of Jean Marot. Paris. No date. Pl. 65).

Note 502. It necessarily belonged to his son, the duke de Chevreuse and to the dukes of Epemon and Longueville, and it played a great role during the Fronde. It stood within the present court of the new Louvre.

308. Old Chateau at Versailles.

The old Chateau, which Louis XIII had built by Lemercier in Versailles, which now forms the facades of the court of marble, is an example of this tendency.

The part represented in Fig. 58⁵⁰³ is indeed a wing added by Louis XIV, but which accurately continues the old system,⁵⁰⁴ The bonded quoins are omitted and are replaced by pilasters and straight window architraves. By skilful panel slabs with busts and consoles, it is sought to impart something of distinction to the entire system of brickwork and ashlar.

Note 503. Reproduction from an old crayon engraving at Paris.

Note 504. The dormer windows, vases, and figures of the charming balustrade also belong to the forms of Louis XIV.

2. Severe Tendency of the Style.

(1594-1774).

304. Sources and Effects.

4. Sources from which proceeded the strength of the severe tendency are:--

a. The spirit of reorganization and reaction against the

extravagances of the age of Henry III.

b. The strengthening of the spirit of the counter reformation, of the Council of Trent, and of absolutism.

4. The effects of it are:--

a. The strong increase of Italian influence.

b. The return to different severe Italian models.

c. The founding of French academies in Paris and Rome.

d. The new rise of the high Renaissance and of the classical tendency.

a. Continuance of the Spirit of the High Renaissance.

305. High Renaissance.

The history of the severe tendency of architecture from 1594 to 1770 (from the entry of Henry IV into Paris until the death of Louis XV) may be comprised in the words:-- After the introduction of the high Renaissance into France, this style really never went out of use in this country. Never have more than twenty or thirty years passed away, without one or more buildings having been produced, that one must indeed regard as noble, or at least respectable and interesting products of this style tendency.

We will cite the following buildings and dates as being in some degree milestones and waymarks of the severe high Renaissance tendency.

1590, death of Baptiste Du Cerceau.

1594, design of the western half of the gallery of the Louvre.

1615, beginning of Place Luxemburg.

1616, laying corner stone of facade of Church S. Gervais.

1618, rebuilding of great hall of Palace of Justice at Paris.

1624, Pavillon de l'Horloge in the court of the Louvre.

1635, beginning of Church of the Sorbonne.

1645, beginning of Church Val de Grace.

1665, beginning of colonnade of the Louvre.

1680, beginning of the domed Church of the Invalids.

1699, beginning of chapel of Chateau at Versailles.

1706, court and court facade of Hotel de Soubise at Paris.

1710, completion of chapel of Chateau at Versailles.

1732, beginning of facade of Church S. Sulpice at Paris.

1738, beginning of facade of Church S. Roch at Paris.

1754, beginning of facade of Church S. Eustache at Paris.

1762-1770, beginning and construction of Palaces on Place de la Concorde at Paris.

The differences here notable from one century to another or between buildings separated by one or two centuries are no real differences in style. They merely result from the gifts and the individual temperament of the master concerned, or from the intellectual temper of the age in which they arose. In such a case may indeed exist a great difference in art worth without any in the style.

The fact alone, that during several centuries of the construction of the Louvre, men retained or returned to the severe tendency, even in 1624, two years after the beginning of the work of Rubens in Paris, and in 1665 in the midst of the reverence for Bernini, is in itself already an interesting and important phenomenon and evidence of the influence of Lescot's composition.

On the Pavillon de l'Horloge (Fig. 225) at the Louvre, not only is the architecture severe: the great slender caryatids of Sarrasin, arranged in pairs, exhibit a noble and monumental dignity, joined with a natural feminine grace, and they belong to the best indeed, that has ever been created in this style.

The famous Chateau of Richelieu, that the cardinal had Lemercier erect in Poitou from 1627 onward (Figs. 233, 240), must be mentioned here on account of the severe plan of the general arrangement and the treatment of the different parts. (Fig. 323).

The other standard severe buildings, such as the wing of Gaston d'Orleans in Blois, as well as the chateaus in Maisons and in Vaux-le-Vicomte, will be mentioned in the description of the intermediatendency.

306. Renewed Study of the Italian High Renaissance.

Concerning Italian influence in this period, it was emphasized in Art. 273, that French masters looked less toward contemporary Italians, than toward the severer masters of the 16th century. Nothing better shows that the French high Renaissance did not end with the 16th century, than the return of the French architects then to the Italian high Renaissance. They had the correct feeling, that their task would be long

inexhaustible. Men merely stood before an interruption or pause produced by fate. The statement of Lemonnier is entirely correct, that there was not an unbroken series of "Franciades" in literature alone.

This energetic resumption, this adherence to the high Renaissance, and its application again to a large number of problems must indeed be regarded as the fruit of intellectual opposition to the extravagances of caprice in the continued school of Michelangelo. Just as the religious wars were unable to suppress the severe tendency of the Renaissance, just so little could they and the orderly reorganization of Henry IV. destroy the free tendency and its caprices.

The Louvre, the Tuileries, the Church S. Eustache and many other monuments prove, that neither time nor strength sufficed for the problems undertaken. Just this resumption of the problems of French architecture of the 16th century contributed to a better understanding of French architecture in the 17th century.

Important domains of the Italian high Renaissance, for example the entire domical construction, were to first receive consideration in France and to originate competition with the best Italian models. Not only the tendency of architecture, but also the ever increasing Jesuitism and the Roman Church directed attention to the Church S. Peter and the Church of Jesuits at Rome. It is very remarkable, that French architects did not endeavor to produce imitation of the entire Church S. Peter with the colossal external order. They took the severest portion of the exterior, the dome of Michelangelo, as the centre of their ideas, and they sought to bring the substructure into better harmony with the dome by means of several orders instead of a single one, than is now the case with the amputated Church S. Peter.

Of the six more important domed churches, which were erected in Paris, three belong to the severest tendency: the Church of the Sorbonne (1635-1659), the Church Val-de-Grace (begun 1645), and the domed Church of Invalids (1680-1692). Even in the Church of Assumption and in the College des Quatre Nations (1660), severe design predominates only on the Jesuit Church S. Louis, now Church Ss. Paul et Louis, has a decidedly mixed tendency been expressed.

307. Examples from 1660 to 1700.

For the time about 1660, some of the buildings of Le Vau may certainly be mentioned as belonging to this tendency; the portal structure in the Chateau at Vincennes (Fig. 140), his former pavilion at the Louvre (Fig. 332), begun in 1660, finally the system of external architecture of the Chateau at Versailles (Fig. 235). Unfortunately his famous Chateau Vaux-le-Vicomte is only known to us from illustrations, therefore I cannot decide whether it is better to mention it here, like his College des Quatre Nations (Palace of the Institute), or under the intermediate tendency.

The architectural activity of Claude Perrault in relation to severe composition and noble treatment of details indeed denotes the climax of the classical external architecture of this period. His colonnade of the Louvre (1665-1680) with the two stairways, the facades along Rue de Rivoli and the river Seine (Fig. 223), as well as the uppermost story of the court of the Louvre (Fig. 227), which was gradually constructed on three sides, since the attic of Lescot no longer suited the external height, and finally his never completed triumphal Arch (Fig. 324), are certainly efforts, which belong to the best of the four last centuries in Europe.

On account of the severe treatment in plan of its general design (Fig. 326), and on account of the subdivision of the pavilion du Roi (Fig. 353), the famous pleasure Chateau of Marly may likewise be regarded as a member of the severe tendency. It was begun in 1679; in 1690-1715 were made considerable expenditures for the building.

J. H. Mansart's facade of Church Notre Dame at Versailles is recognized as having been erected in barely two years. (1684-1686). The middle building and the ground story are nevertheless severe and very good. His chapel of the Chateau at Versailles (1699-1710), completed by his brother-in-law Robert de la Cotte, by the noble treatment of the Corinthian order and its contrast to the surfaces in repose is not only a severer, but in part also a more beautiful building. (Fig. 171).

308. Examples from 1700 to 1732.

Of the period between 1700 and 1730, during which the free tendency constantly increased, there may be mentioned the mid-

middle buildings of Hotel de Soubise (1706), of Hotel de Noailles, and of Hotel d'Evreux, as entirely derived from the severe spirit. But it is perhaps more correct to count them with the intermediate tendency, to which we also refer as the supporter of the severe spirit during the most intense period of the reaction of the free tendency.

We pass now to the important moment of the appearance of S Servandony. This peculiar architect became acquainted before 1724 with the severe forms under the well known architectural painter J. P. Pannini in Italy, as well as under the architect Giovanni Giuseppi Rossi. His facade of Church S. Sulpice in Paris (begun 1732) is the most important monument of this epoch and has a severe and grand effect. The chapel of S. M Marie of the same church is likewise due to him.

Robert de Cotte, who continued and completed his brother-in-law's chapel of the Chateau in Versailles, and completed in the severe tendency mentioned, remained faithful to this tendency in his two later church facades. The facade of the Church of the Oratoire at Paris with Doric and Corinthian orders is cold, but strong. That of S. Roch (Fig. 170), only executed in 1738 by his son, three years after Robert de Cotte's death, is much more interesting in composition; the effect of the ground story with its bold Doric subdivision of the piers and the three round arches of equal height is one really beautiful, allied in spirit with some of the designs for the Church S. Peter in Rome by Antonia da Sangallo. (About 1520).

309. Examples since 1750.

With the facade of Church S. Estache at Paris by Jean Mansart, begun in 1754 (Fig. 175), which is no less severe than that of Servandony, we have already passed into the period of the pure and severe style of Louis XVI. Jacques-Ange-Gabriel, after 1742 first architect to the king, began in 1751 the Ecole Militaire at Paris and erected in 1762-1770 the two famous Palaces on Place de la Concorde.

In the year 1757, the Church S. Genevieve (the Pantheon) was begun by Soufflot, whose corner stone was only laid in 1764. The system of the interior approaches in several points so very nearly to the type of a group of studies among the d

designs of Bramante for church S. Peter, that it would be interesting to know, whether Soufflot had any acquaintance in Italy or elsewhere with these designs, of like Bramante himself, passed by the study of the antique monuments to this arrangement.

Antoine built in 1768-1775 his Hotel des Monnaies at Paris, severe even to coldness. Louis designed in 1773 his famous Theatre at Bordeaux, and in 1781 he built the buildings with arcades around the garden of the Palace Royal. The Palace of Legion of Honor likewise belongs here.

The latter buildings represent the connection with our century, when we again recognize the high Renaissance in the Arch of Triumph of Place du Carrousel and in the former main stairway by Percier and Fontaine in the Louvre, later in the Palace de la Cour des Comptes on Quay d'Orsay, and in our own days in Brune's ministry of Agriculture and commerce in Rue de Varenne, both in Paris.

b. Decoration.

310. Examples from 1624 to 1680.

In the apartments of Maria de Medici in Palace Luxemburg at Paris may be observed proofs, that besides Rubens, the queen remembered the grotesques in the Loggias of Rachael.

At the erection of the pavilion de l'Horloge in the court of the Louvre (after 1624), it became necessary to return to the noblest ornamentation by Pierre Lescot. Men had the good fortune to find a master in Sarrasin, who followed the figures of Lescot's attic with caryatids, not inferior to those, but indeed excelling them in part.

In the beautiful decorative compositions of Simon Vouet ⁵⁰⁵ (1590-1649), the motives are based on the grotesques in the Loggias of Raphael and the engravings of Du Cerceau; the latter were engraved after grotesques formerly existing in Fontainebleau and Monceau; but all of Vouet's forms, the enclosures of the reliefs, medallions, shields, and the scrollwork are more boldly and heavily treated; likewise are the natural plants and flowers, that occur instead of those of Giovanni da Udine, in more massive and heavier festoons and garlands.

Note 505. He sojourned for 15 years in Italy, and he was again in Paris in 1632.

Other pertinent examples are illustrated in Rouyer's well known work.⁵⁰⁶

Note 506. Rouyer and Darcel. *L'Art Architectural en France etc.* Paris. 1863-1866.

311. Period of 1680 to 1732.

Two examples of this tendency under consideration are found much later yet in Hotel d'Ormesson at Paris (about 1680) and between 1666 and 1694 in the Palace of Justice at Rennes. It is the same tendency, that we shall see as the French basis of the so-called style of Louis XVI substantially after 1745, if not earlier.

As a further, even if merely a partial connection with the style of Louis XVI, we refer to the group of Gillot-Watteau, to be discussed under the free tendency (Art 341). We there see the return to natural flowers, vine scrolls, fruits, little cypresses and poplars, as in the style of Louis XVI, as well as the occurrence of certain angular forms, as in Chossart (1729-1809) and Delafosse (born 1721). We further see therein the peculiar appearance of this group, that earliest proceeded from the bizarre tendency, i.e., from that free tendency, which had been developed from the school of Raphael. But at the same time we find in it already the style of Louis XVI half transformed, which then returned again to the severe models of the loggias of Raphael, from which the bizarre tendency was derived.

312. Style of Louis XVI.

It is not within the scope of this volume to describe the so-called style of Louis XVI, with which the third period of development of the Renaissance in France commences. But if we have still mentioned the most important monuments of this phase, this occurred on account of the necessity for obtaining a solid base for the close of our work, and to not allow it to be lost in the uncertain light of the capricious sportiveness of the free tendency.

For the same reason must at least the beginning of the Louis XVI decoration be mentioned here, because for 25 years it prevailed at the same time with the free tendency of the style of Louis XV, with which the present volume closes.

The Louis XV decoration is the reaction of the severe spirit

against the excesses of the free tendency of the style of Louis XV, i.e., of the last phase of the second period of the Renaissance. It returns to the several forms of the style of Louis XII and Louis XIV, and it is based, even more than those, on the Loggias of Raphael. The latter cannot be surprising, for like the Louis XIV style, women influenced the Louis XVI style. Madame de Pompadour introduced the so-called style of Louis XVI between 1745 and 1750. Marie Antoinette took a part in its further development. Men generally assert, that it ended with her and the Revolution. It would perhaps be more correct to say, that its transition into the Empire style is so gradual, that one can scarcely note the separation between the two. It is further assumed, that the excavation of Herculaneum (1713) and of Pompeii (1755) had begun to influence French decoration and architecture.

313. Recourse to earlier Examples.

If on the one hand we see the style of Louis XVI sometimes returning to the style of Louis XIII,⁵⁰⁷ then on the other do we find already in the latter premonitions or prophecies of the style of Louis XVI. In the collection of altars and mantels engraved by Abraham Bosse in 1633 for the work of J. Barbet,⁵⁰⁸ there are two mantels, that exhibit many ideas of the style of Louis XVI, for example on one is already a sun as the later symbol of Louis XIV. The relation of this style to the masters of the Gillot-Watteau group was already indicated in Art. 311, and we shall recur to it later.

Note 507. It appears to me that the influence of Stefano della Bella frequently reappears. In the vases by Jac. Saly, (1756), the latter seems to return to della Bella or to such engravings by Le Pautre, who was under his influence. (Illustrated in Jessen, P. Katalog der Ornamentstich-Sammlung des K. Kunstgewerbe-Museums zu Berlin. Leipzig. 1894. p. 119). Likewise in the work of de la Jolle. In Caubet's Ornaments, this is apparent in the treatment of the animals and of the foliage; thus for example in the rams' heads of the panels:-- Caubet, G. P. Recueil d'Ornements. Paris. 1777. (Illustrated in Jessen. p. 57).

Note 508. Barbet, J. Livre d'Architecture d'Autels et de Cheminees etc. Paris. 1633. The plates mentioned are to be

found in the Paris Cabinet d'Estampes. Vol. E d 30. Pl. 152.

3. Mixed or Intermediate Tendency of the Style.

314. Character of the Combination. (1594-1774).

Where two tendencies of opposed nature follow the same course at the same time, it should not be surprising to find attempts to create a tendency intermediate between the two. In the period now occupying our attention, there are even phases, whose chief character is that of a combination of the severe and the freer tendencies. Since correctly understood, all French architecture after 1500 is a compromise between native and foreign elements, each building could be arranged in this class. The grouping according to the currents, that we here propose, is still based on perceptible elements, that may be observed in buildings on French soil itself, as soon as they are placed in an objective light, and attention is directed to the points of view here made prominent.

We here understand as works of an intermediate tendency only such as exhibit a severe composition and subdivision, on while the decoration within this limit follows a freer tendency.

315. Beginning under Henry IV.

It has been emphasized, that the fusion policy and a conciliatory spirit formed the basis of the character of Henry IV. Therefore it should not be surprising to find the sources of the intermediate tendency in his age, and to see it grow out of this. In the gallery on the river side of the Louvre, the subdivision and the detail show certain echos of the Italian tendency of Alessi in the court of Palace Marino at Milan, while the famous frieze of cupids exhibits marks of a Flemish-German influence. 509

Note 509. We refer to a German work, that appeared in the same year in which the design for the completion of the gallery of the Louvre was exhibited (1594). This is a medallion by Flindt on a goblet, which shows a great fish in the midst of reeds, exactly in the character of those on the frieze of the Louvre, and which is also to be found already in Jamnitzer. -- This medallion is to be found in Flindt's book with 40 pieces. Nuremberg. 1594. (Illustrated in Jessen, P. Katalog der Ornamenten-Sammlung des Kunstgewerbemuseums zu Berlin (Leipzig. 1894. p. 113).

316. Salomon de Brosse and Rubens.

It may be stated here, that the entire style of Salomon de Brosse bears something of the character of the fusion policy of Henry IV, and it may therefore be mentioned here. The intermediate character in it does not consist in the mixture of two systems of forms, but in the combination of two intellectual tendencies, the Roman and Huguenot severity, with which de Brosse groups the architectural problem. Therefore it will be arranged to more fully enter upon the character of his creations later.

For a better view of this period, it should be recalled, that the entire art tendency of Rubens, the greatest master of the 17th century, was a progressive compromise and a constantly renewed, though founded on different conditions, alliance of the severe tendency of the great Italians with the free, exuberant, living force of the Flemings.

317. Building of Gaston d'Orleans at Blois.

About twenty years later, on the building of Gaston d'Orleans in the Chateau at Blois (after 1635), there may be seen in the severely conceived ornamental sculpture of the vault and the dome of the famous stairway an interesting reflection of the swelled treatment of details. The masks that support the trophies and ornament the shields, the cartouches with the heavy volutes of thin scrollwork exhibit this character in an expressive, even if not exaggerated way. We stand before an essentially severe Italian composition, whose details are likewise Italian, but show a rather too bold mode of treatment in the Franco-Flemish character of the time of Henry IV.

The building of Gaston d'Orleans at the Chateau of Blois, which Francois Mansart began in 1635 for the brother of the king, is to be regarded as one of the most important stopping places of the chateau architecture of the 17th century. In fact it lies in time as well as in style midway between the two chateaus of Salomon de Brosse and of Versailles, and it is one of the most important connecting links between them. The reentrant angles of the court are partially masked by an arrangement of coupled columns supporting nothing. Their curve, which connects the projecting wing with the middle pavilion merely emphasizes the entrance to the latter in inviting

forms. The bold treatment of these Doric columns recalls that usual with de Brosse. (See Church S. Gervais at Paris). The character of the two upper stories with coupled Ionic and Corinthian pilasters and their windows already transfer us, so to speak, to the age of Louis XIV and of Versailles. This relationship appears more strongly on the outer side, since the ground story is here transformed into a plain substructure. Fig. 59⁵¹⁰ shows one of the two angle pavilions of the exterior. Fortunately the project for rebuilding the entire chateau on this plan was not executed.

Note 510. Reproduction from an old drawing in Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. Series; Topographie de France. Volume, Blois. V. a., 82.

318318. Chateau at Maisons.

The Chateau of Maisons (near S. Germain-en-Laye; 1642), likewise built by Francois Mansart for the President Rene de Longueuil, is a further development of his Chateau at Blois. The proportions are happier; the elevation of the facades by pediment motives in the middle of the three pavilions is more animated and more spirited. Only two stories with Doric and Ionic orders above the inclined wall of the moat, and a third only in the middle part of the main pavilion, now exist. The whole is animated in the happiest manner by the separation of the roofs.

a. Buildings of the Jesuit Order.

319. Intermediate Character.

The architecture of the Jesuits, in so far as one is justified in speaking of such a style,⁵¹¹ appears likewise to be based on a compromise. The severe treatment of the orders in accord with the precepts of Vignola, architect of the Church Gesu of the order in Rome, produces a framework comparable to the severe rules of the order. Within these limits were frequently permitted caprices of every kind as a compensation, for what the order believed itself required to take away from the heart and the consciousness of personal feeling and individual freedom. The architectural spirit, like the consciousness of Montaigne or of Henry IV, divided itself into two domains, so to speak; one half belonged to the orders of the Italians, and men subjected themselves to their laws and the-

their tyranny; for the second half men reserved to themselves the enjoyment of freer decoration; they made a compromise between Italian and Franco-Flemish taste.

Note 511. This question will be discussed in the Chapter on Church Architecture.

320. Analogy with Vignola.

It is peculiar, that these rules of the columnar orders, which could indeed hinder architects from committing gross sins against good proportions of buildings, but have frequently promoted a cold and lifeless patternism in architecture, came from the builder of the Church of Jesuits in Rome, i.e., from the mother church of the Order, said to do everything in a religious sphere to suppress the living and personal feeling of conscience and of the individual, and to replace them by more mechanical exercises. Accordingly the effect of the Jesuits in the domain of morality was comparable to that of their first architect Vignola in the domain of architecture. The influence exercised by the Church of Jesuits in Rome again on the other churches of the Order was a new reason for extending the architectural influence of Vignola.

321. Analogy with the Style of Louis XIV.

In this sense appears to exist a kind of analogy between the tendency of the style of Louis XIV and the Jesuit style. It is as if in the superfluity of ideas and motives of Pietro da Cortona, Le Brun, Berain, Marot and others, in the decoration of the vaults, of the orders and in the spandrels between them, the artists sought for a kind of compensation for the lifeless coldness and the lack of individuality in the architecture itself, which are partly the results of the rules of Vignola. The loss of personal and individual character is further just the most striking characteristic of art during the entire period of the actual personal rule of Louis XIV.

b. Mixed Character of the Architecture of Louis XIV.

322. Employment of the Human Figure.

The previously mentioned mixed character of the architecture of Louis XIV may be recognized in many ways on more careful consideration, in spite of its frequently native impression.

Perhaps proceeding from the court of the Louvre and its pavilion de l'Horloge, which received such noble ornamentation

by the caryatids of Sarrasin, we see a tendency, which strives to give more life to the architectural compositions of the time by the use of human figures.

That the influence of Lebrun partly made itself felt in this tendency is conceivable. Fig. 60⁵¹² reproduces one of 13 engravings of pavilions, that he designed and are contained in his "Works".⁵¹³ Fig. 535 shows the design of a triumphal arch, which he prepared in competition with Perrault and Le Vau, on which figures play an important part.

Note 512. Reproduction from Lebrun, C. Pavillons du Jardin de Marly. No. 31. Paris. 17th century. (No date).

Note 513. Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. Vol. D a, 39 a.

Moreover we have here come to the time, when the influence of Lebrun upon the entire art of Louis XIV was predominant. In the decorations of the period between 1660 and 1682, especially in those of Lebrun in the gallery of Apollo in the Louvre, and in the Grand Apartments at Versailles, the architecture is indeed still severe, but more controlled by Vignola than by models of the age of Raphael, and instead of the Loggias it is the style of Pietro da Cortona, that predominates.

The facade of the Maison et Bureau des Marchands Grappiers, built about 1650 by Jacques I Bruant, now again rebuilt in the garden of Hotel Carnavalet at Paris, exhibits the same tendency and must have been one of the best buildings of its time. Fig. 61⁵¹⁴ reproduces it from an old engraving of Marot with fluted pilasters indeed, while the entire building now shows them plain. I am unable to decide, whether the engraving or the restored facade is correct; yet in this case the latter appears to me most probable.

Note 514. Reproduction from an engraving of Jean Marot in Blondel's Architecture Francaise etc. Paris. 1752. Vol. 3. Pl. 307.

323. Freer Phase of Louis XIV.

The development of the freer phase of the style of Louis XIV is in part the result of a constantly stronger infiltration of the current of the bizarre in ornamentation.

Those style forms arise about which Destailleur writes:--
"One may regard Daniel Marot as the type of that style of Lo-

Louis XIV, which foreign nations went to copy enviously".⁵¹⁵ As a beginning of a revival of the free tendency this style form will be found an intelligible representation in the continuance of the free tendency during the period between 1660 and 1713. (See under Section 5, a).

Note 515. Destailleur, R. *Notices sur quelques Artistes Français*. Paris. 1868. p. 147.

Only toward the end of the style of Louis XIV began in France the art of arrangement of the plan, and the idea of "comfort" was developed. Men "dined" then about midday, and very few "dinners" were given". "Home life did not exist", as Destailleur says.

324. Mixed Tendency under Louis XV.

Also during the time of the style of Louis XV do we find a series of architectural works, which by their nature belong to this intermediate tendency, even if the character of the ornament also changes, which is connected with the severe columns.

On the Cathedral S. Louis at Versailles (1742-1754), besides the tower of curved outline and some details on the buttress-panels and on the upper window caps, that characterize the free phase, the treatment of the Doric and Corinthian orders is entirely good. The distribution of the groups of columns and their continuous lines prove the rare, animated and assured architectural powers of the architect Jacques Hardouin Mansard de Sagonne.

We even find examples of this tendency in those masters, in which one would least expect it, in Meissonnier. He appears to have had in view a both severe and assured treatment of the orders in his project for the facade of S. Sulpice at Paris (1726). His doorways and windows likewise appear severe. Yet in reference to the swelling of the curves in the plan and elevation, this design is the extreme expression of the free tendency, which corresponds to the Rococo. (Fig. 172). On the title plate of the Work of Meissonnier,⁵¹⁶ the foreground represents the projection of the terrace located by the sea, that curves and overhangs like a falling wave; but in the background is a palace built in the most severe style. This fact may perhaps explain to a certain degree the otherw-

otherwise too surprising judgment of a contemporary on the style of Meissonnier, of the Abbe de Fontenai, who writes:-- "All these works bear the impress of a happy genius, of a fertile imagination, of easy execution, of a true taste formed on the noble simplicity of the antique". Yet one can understand the surprise of the editor of the *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais*,⁵¹⁷ who quotes these words and merely adds; "we quote without comment".

Note 516. Illustrated in Guilmard, D. *Les Maitres Ornementistes* etc. Paris. 1881. Pl. 51.

Note 517. Year 1884. p. 127.

The Fountain of Rue de Grenelle at Paris (completed 1739) exhibits the combination of severe orders with free motives of details. The former high altar of Sa Sauveur at Paris with the palm branches and leaves shooting forth all over it (Fig. 65) makes apparent, how frequently in this phase the freest forms of decoration are combined with a severe treatment of the columns. The facade of the Cathedral at Luneville has two towers, that are crowned by domes; but the crockets, pinnacles, all details etc., that give them in outline the character of the early French Renaissance, are treated in the forms of Louis XV. In the beautiful palaces erected in Nancy by Boffrand, as well as in the indeed grandly effective Cathedral of the same city, the severer tendency is much more emphasized and predominant.

4. Realistic-Rationalistic Style Tendency. (1594-1774).

325. Influence of "Reason".

We find also in the period in question a style tendency, that one may designate as independent and a partly French tendency. It is the expression of the mighty impetus of the 17th century in France; of reason, which appears to so many Frenchmen, even to the present day, as the basis of their art. Based on this practical and rational realism, it seeks to satisfy the natural material requirements in the most practical and direct way.

Men regard this tendency as prizing material purity and as seeking to solve the problem without preference in that way, which seems to be indicated by the assumed reason. It does

not seek to symbolize the required structural means and its functions by an ideal fiction, like that frequently connected with the use of the antique orders.

In the periods of the Barocco and of the Rococo, this reasoning mental tendency indeed kept in the French works free from exaggerations and tasteless absurdities, but it also hindered it from attaining the talented grandeur, of which the Barocco is capable.

326. Prosaic Tendency of this Art.

In the entire manner of understanding of this tendency lies something entirely without poetry, i.e., there is wanting the real artistic inspiration and impulse. It expresses views, that are often found in those civic circles, where the calculating material spirit has obtained supremacy, and it sometimes runs a risk of falling into that mode of thought peculiar to France, which is designated as civic platitudes. On the other hand, there lies in this spirit a valuable degree of independence from too great routine in established matters and in conventional traditions. Hence, as by the inclination to consider the objective elements in every case, it appears adapted to assure the rights of progress and of new needs. This tendency must be most clearly expressed in the French hotels of the 17th and 18th centuries. Especially is it visible in the general design and external architecture. It is also very plainly expressed in the Hotel des Invalides at Paris, which was erected to receive from 6000 to 7000 old soldiers.

327. Novelties in this Tendency.

This seems to be a new phenomenon in France, a tendency neither to be found in its splendid Gothic monuments like churches and castles, nor in the small houses in cities.

These imperfections appear to me to proceed less from the characteristics mentioned, than from the fact that the French spirit must have lost something of harmonious equilibrium and of the higher inspiration.

In spite of this defect, this tendency deserves attention by architects, because it has peculiarities, that again do not in other schools always receive sufficient consideration, whence arise defects of another kind. This intellectual ten-

tendency is also expressed in actual monuments of ideal tendency, and especially in the alleged first greater work of the famous Francois Mansart. This is the present Church S. Marie, now Church de la Visitation des Filles de S. Marie, also called Church Notre Dame des Angers, which Mansart built in 1632-1634 in Rue S. Antoine at Paris. Fig. 62⁵¹⁸ shows its exterior, on which with the exception of the doorway, any order of pilasters or columns is avoided.

Note 518. Reproduction from Blondel. Vol. 2. Pl. 254.

Note 519. Lemonnier (p. 58) allows a somewhat similar tendency in painting to begin with Varin (1627); "rational painting, wise and academic, which will long form the medium tone of our school".

We see the same tendency in the two triumphal Gates, that Louis XIV had constructed in the year 1674; the Gate S. Martin by Pierre Ballet, and the Gate S. Denis by the elder Francois Blondel, both in Paris, where many are much surprised by the latter. It is represented in Fig. 63⁵²⁰, and it later influenced the design of the Arch de l'Etoile. This tendency still continues with many French architects.

Note 520. Reproduction from Blondel. Vol. 3. p. 310.

5. Fate of the Current of the Free Style under Louis XIV. (1660-1715).

328. Connection of the Periods of Louis XIII and of Louis XV.

At the close of the description of the Barocco-like tendency (see Art. 301), it was shown, that with this was connected the further development in the late phase of this period, which degenerated into the Rococo proper. The understanding of an art tendency becomes much clearer, if it is possible to reach its native domain. Therefore it is interesting for the history of the genesis of the tendency of the age of Louis XV to determine whether the free tendency, which developed in the age of Henry IV entirely disappeared in the absolute and academic time of Louis XIV about 1660, or whether it further existed in any form. Concerning the gallery doree in Hotel of Count of Toulouse at Paris, one frequently meets with views, which appear to be based on the belief, that Robert de Cotte suddenly invented this type of the style of the Regency,

so to speak, We may here point out a work of preparation in the free intellectual tendency. In the period between 1660 and the year 1713, in which the gallery doree was begun, one finds on more careful consideration many vestiges of a freer art tendency. These are, it seems to me, to be chiefly found in the domain of internal decoration and frequently within severe borders. If we consider on the one hand the decoration of this gallery of the Hotel de Toulouse (now Bank of France, Figs. 62, 355), which Destailleur regards as the occurrence of the transition to the style of Louis XV, one must accept that a gradual transition to these forms must have been prepared in many detail forms of the preceding years, at least after 1680. The gallery doree is the summation of an already completed movement of transition.

329. Decoration of Vaults by Lebrun.

This preparatory transition is indeed continued in the decoration. First of all, the entire decorative style of Lebrun's vaults (about 1662-1680) in the Gallery of Apollo of the Louvre, in the Gallery des Glaces at Versailles (Fig. 361), and in the destroyed Stairway des Ambassadeurs there (Fig. 362), may be regarded as a domain, within which a freer manner of composition remains in use. The latter has its remote roots in the vaults of the Sistine at Rome, its nearer ones in the vaults of Annibale Carracci and of Pietro da Cortona in Palace in Florence and palaces Farnese and Barberini at Rome. On the former ceiling of the Stairway des Ambassadeurs, we see in the angle trophies over the shells and attached to each other like pediments, the recurved S-consoles, which as in the gallery doree (Figs. 355 as well as 358), a gentle termination of the panels, here representing a gentle covering over the angle of the room.⁵²¹ On other panels may be seen quadrant borders ending in volute form and attached together. The cartouche motives above the cornice in Fig. 361 exhibit many free forms and free combinations. But it is not merely the marks of a freer art tendency in general, that may be determined; within the severe tendency of Louis XIV may again be recognized and traced the spirit of the bizarre and that of the Barocco. We will consider separately the dates of both tendencies.

Note 521. On the portrait of Pierre Mignard (died 1695) p

painted by Rigaut, thus between 1690 and 1695, the armchair terminates at top in two ascending S-pieces joined by a shell, similar to the wall panels of the gallery doree, even though simpler. (Fig. 255).

a. Marks of Bizarre Tendency.

(1660-1715).

330. Revival of the Bizarre.

We have defined this tendency in Art. 286. We now follow it during the reign of Louis XIV.

Besides the free elements in Lebrun, we see perhaps as a result thereof, after 1680 in certain spheres of ornamentation the gradual entrance of a spirit of caprice. As the beginning of this free tendency may be designated the occurrence of such elements in decoration, which aim at the breaking of the simple and natural tendency in the lines of the composition. In a grotesque panel by the architectural painter Georges Charmeton (1619-1674) occur volute scrolls, that appear to be of wrought iron. Also other elements, such as straight lines and angles, that abruptly pass into curved or volute ends, and certain rings appear to be borrowed from the wrought iron grilles of that time. They are an element of caprice, when organically developed from scrollwork, instead of merely combining esthetically or intertwining with it.

331. Group of Berain and Daniel Marot.

Jean Berain (1674-1711), Sebastian Leclerc (1637-1714), pierre Le Pautre (died 1716, son of Jean), Jean Le Moyne (1645-1718), and until the revocation of the edict of Nantes (1685), Daniel Marot, with Boule are the artists, who helped to develop this gradually changed character of the decoration. The insertion of rectilinear elements forming one or more angles in the midst of a simple curved line or in the midst of scrolled forms, whose character implies an unbroken course of the line, can scarcely be termed natural. It is a capricious and labored manner of accenting the contrast of straight lines and curves and of making certain fixed points more picturesque.⁵²² Already in the works of the 16th century are found examples of this tendency, for example in the grotesques of Etienne de Laune (Stephanus), in Du Cerceau and their Italian models.⁵²³

Note 522. In the phases of true classical climaxes, these contrasts were produced by the combination of forms, in which the straight line naturally appears on the one hand, and on the other the curved line.

Note 523. These patterns are frequently found in the bindings of the period of Francis I and Henry II, as well as in Du Cerceau's series on Marquetry. In a word, this is an invasion of "band patterns" into grotesques.

In the otherwise very noble decoration of the hall in Hotel d'Ormesson at Paris (about 1630), maintained in the spirit of Raphael's Loggias, one can feel the permeation of the new tendency so much better, since it is limited to two phases; the panel of the overmantel and the running ornament of a broad continuous band beneath the frieze.⁵²⁴ In the works of Berain⁵²⁵ are to be found variously shaped enclosures of separate motives within large panels, C-forms of a different tendency, connected by straight parts and angular forms, volutes expanding into horns, which in the Louis XV style so frequently occur at the upper end of the border and are termed "crows' beak", -- all forms, that compose the direct connection between their earlier prototypes of the Barocco period and their later successors of the age of Louis XV.

Note 524. Illustrated in Rouyer & Darcel. *L'Art Francois* etc. Paris. 1859-1866. Vol. 1. Pls. 93-95.

Note 525. See the illustration in Jessen, P. *Katalog der Ornamentenstich-- Sammlung des Kunstgewerbemuseums der Königl. Museum zu Berlin*. Leipzig. 1894. p. 3.

Another kind of transition from Berain's forms to those of the 18 th century is seen in a mirror frame attributed to this master,⁵²⁶ in the Chateau Serrant belonging to duke de la Tremouille. In the cap the curved and the straight portions are composed of a kind of flat band elements, at the middle of which a torus band extends lengthwise.

Note 526. Illustrated in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. 3rd per. vol. 14. (1875). p. 177; vol. 15 (1896). p. 121.

332. Examples in Engravings of Ornament.

One can follow in the engravings of ornament of that age, which exerted such great influence upon decoration, the continually stronger penetration of the spirit of freer composi-

composition with its caprices and arbitrariness. Take for a starting point, for example, a grotesque panel by Simon Vonet (died 1649); although bolder and heavier, it is entirely executed in the style of Raphael's Loggias.⁵²⁷ Then compare some plates in the frequently mentioned Works of Guillemard,⁵²⁸ and one will see how gradually the detail forms pass into those, that are matured in the gallery doree into a new and completed phase of the style.

Note 527. Illustrated in Lechevallier-Chevignard. *Les Styles Français*. Paris. 1892. p. 299.

Note 528. *Les Maitres Ornementistes etc.* Paris. 1881.

First of all, panels nos. 33 and 38, the former by Jean Bérain (1674-1711), engraved by Le Pautre, the second composed and engraved by Daniel Marot (1650-1712). The same development of the tendency in taste is found in a ceiling, No. 35, engraved by Sebastien Leclerc (1637-1714), and in the engravings by Pierre Le Pautre (died 1716) of the tables of the royal apartments, and further in the borders by Daniel Marot, No. 39, and in the furniture of Andre-Charles Boule. (1642-1732).

In the engravings of ornament by Daniel Marot, there are several in which motives of freer course of lines are contained, which appear as direct prototypes of Louis XV motives, for example in the panel No. 4;⁵²⁹ likewise among his motives for the decoration of rooms, No. 7, and for beds. (Pl. 152).

Note 529. In Marot, D. *Des Ornementen wert des Daniel Marot*; reproduced in 264 photographures. Published by P. Jessen. Berlin. 1892.

b. Marks of the Barocco Tendency in Style. (1660-1715).

A certain prolongation of the tendency in the treatment of details, that is based on the development of the forms of Michelangelo and his school, may be proved. We first recall an example of the Barocco tendency, in which is already expressed the Rococo manner of composition. Even on Lebrun's decoration of the vault of the Staircase of Ambassadors at Versailles (Fig. 362) sporadically occur leather cartouches as soft as an oyster, and almost all the cartouches on the vaults of Gallery des Glaces (Fig. 361) there belong to this tendency. Others are found, mostly furnished with wings, as keystone

motives in the salons of Diana, of Apollo and of War (1675-1682) and in the gallery of Apollo of the Louvre.

Therefore the continuance of this tendency is clearly fixed within the severe style of Louis XIV, even in the works of its chief, Lebrun, and the existence of a connecting element with the freer tendency of the 18 th century is sufficiently proved, and it begins to show itself after 1690.

333. Puget and Toro.

The prolongation of this tendency may also be particularly recognized in the works and in the relation of the two masters Pierre Puget and Toro to each other. The famous gateway to the Hotel-de-Ville at Toulon by Puget, built in 1655-1657, still exhibits the spirit of Michelangelo, and in the arrangement and choice of the shells on the hermes figures, in the treatment of the keystones and the impost blocks, an entirely free, individual and somewhat bold tendency, that presents nothing of the style of Louis XIV.

A pupil of Puget, J. Bernard Toro (also Tarot or Taureau), born at Toulon in 1672 and died there in 1731), who especially worked in that city, in Marseilles and in Aix, is a supporter of the free tendency of his master Puget. One of his cartouches shows the long, soft, and rather swelled forms of the free tendency of Louis XIII, combined with the forms of Louis XIV, as they developed themselves more and more after 1680. A work with engravings of ornament by him, that appeared in 1716 in Paris, is designated by the Journal des Savants of August 10, 1716, as "compositions newer, more varied and in better taste, than have ever yet appeared".⁵³¹

Note 530. Guilford, D. *Les Maitres Ornamentistes etc.* Paris. 1881. Pl. 41.

Note 531. See the same work. p. 115.

Moreover there likewise exists here occasionally in the literary domain exactly the same connection between the free tendency of the age of Louis XIII and the 18 th century. "Charles Perrault and Fontenelle", says H. Martin, "were both connected with the literary generation of the time of Richelieu, in contrast to the school of Racine and Boileau, who were too pure in form and too farseeing in spirit for them. Fontenelle, famous for one of the longest literary activities ever seen, belonged to the past and likewise to the future;

as a late born child of the age of Richelieu, he reached over the century of Louis XIV, so to speak, in order to extend a hand to the century of Voltaire".

6. Revival of the free Current of the Style and the Transition Phase of the "Regency".

334. Causes.

The primary and perhaps in itself sufficient explanation of the revival of a free taste in the art tendency lies in the pressure and the impulse, which the entire course and system of Louis XIV had exerted upon the impulsive spirit of the French. The duchess Elisabeth Charlotte of Orleans,⁵³² complained, that the fashion of being gay had fallen into disuse, that an infinite tedium spread over Versailles and the entire court, in spite of the royal splendor, that plunged Louis XIV into debt; "thus all amusements are so labored and full of constraint, that it cannot be expressed". It became even more monotonous about Louis XIV. The formal etiquette of the court of Louis XIV, the load of bigotry insupportable to Frenchmen, which developed after the death of Queen Maria Theresa in 1683 under the influence of the Marquise de Maintenon, aroused in the hearts of French "society" two needs; the return to their own hotels and a "freedom from restraint".there.

Note 532. See Springer, A. Bilder aus der neuen Kunstgeschichte. Bonn. 1867. p. 248.

335. Influence on private Residences.

The increased requirement of convenience and comfort of private residences, the desire to arrange them entirely according to individual taste, influenced the character of architecture at that time in a visible manner. Then came into consideration:--

- a. The improvement of the arrangement of plan of the private hotel.
- b. The origin of the "small houses".
- c. The transformation of the entire character of the internal decoration and its development as the "style of the salon and boudoir."
- d. The increase of the "legitimate" and of the "illegitimate" influence of women upon architecture, and the character,-- I will not say effeminate but "feminine", peculiar to the styles of Louis XV and Louis XVI.

These different transformations are formed within the transition phase, that is designated as the style of the Regency, and then in the free tendency under Louis XV, which is understood by the name of the style of Louis XV.

a. Elements and development of the new Style of Decoration.

336. Two Sources.

This demand for more freedom in opposition to the court life of Louis XIV produced certain phenomena, that proceed from two different sources and spheres, external and internal.

The first source is the attractive force of free nature. It awakens the need of a return to naturalness, the demand for elements and impressions, that recall free nature, the contrast with amusements of popular or foreign character. The second source lies in the individual human imagination. Men seem to be actually penetrated by an insatiable need of yielding to all their impulses, fancies and caprices, and to give expression to them within the bounds of the decoration of a new "salon and boudoir style".

337. Peculiar Origin.

These two needs and tendencies in taste first produce a mixed form. Men attempted to combine the elements derived from the imagination with others taken more from free nature. In this wise originated the works of the masters, from which we have formed the group of Gillot-Watteau. Into this leads the decorative tendency of Berain-Daniel Marot, as well as something of the finest severe tendency of the Loggia style, that we followed to Hotel d'Ormesson. (Art. 245).

Into the intellectual atmosphere and in the drift in taste of this group penetrated the free Italian tendency of Borromini, developed further by Guarini. It was first represented by Oppenordt and then much more simply by Meissonnier of Turin. This group of Gillot-Watteau faithfully reflects the contemporary impulse toward everything, that the pressure of the system of Louis XIV did not allow. It is on a small scale as in the age of Henry IV, in which the needs effervesced in different directions and mingled together.

From the further development of the elements, which are contained in this interesting group in the style, proceeded the

further development of the decorative style of the entire 18th century. The group of Gillot-Watteau is like a settling basin, in which are formed the so-called styles of Louis XV and XVI. The predominating pursuit of the caprices of the imagination then led under Louis XV to the Rocaille and Rococo fashions, but the reaction in the spirit of more refined naturalness under Louis and with the Marquise de Pompadour, to the style of Louis XVI.

b. Freer Development in the private Hotel.

338. Beginning.

To the beginning of a gradual penetration of a freer spirit into the mode of decoration of the style of Louis XIV about 1680 moreover corresponds the awakening of a new spirit in the internal arrangement of the hotel.

In the period from 1680 to 1708, J. Hardouin Mansart introduced in the interiors of residences a series of innovations or improvements. In particular between 1690 and 1708, he placed mirrors over the fireplaces, an arrangement frequently ascribed to his brother-in-law, R. de Cotte, and which to this day plays so great a part in France.⁵³³ Daviler mentioned before 1691⁵³⁴ as an innovation the replacing of ceilings with visible beams by plastered ceilings with coved angles, the general substitution of wooden paneling for wall tapestries, and the replacing of the single doors 6 ft. high by folding doors, as occurred in the Tuileries.

Note 533. See Destailleur, E. *Notices sur quelques Artistes Français*. Paris. 1863. p. 119 et seq.

Note 534. Daviler, C. A. *Cours d'Architecture etc.* Paris. 1691. p. 162.

339. Improved Treatment of the Plan.

One of the results of the reaction against the court life of Louis XIV, where no one could retain his own individuality and anything of naturalness, was in all tendencies a return to intimate and private life. External private life again increased on another side. The need for extending his social circle and the exchange of thoughts, feelings, and impressions, dominates everything. "The sociability, that has always marked the French character, receives an extension without limit", says H. Martin. These conditions still more affected

the improvement of the arrangement of plan of the hotel, which was frequently mentioned in that period. H. Martin writes of these changes in the mansions:-- "Architecture completed a revolution in the interiors of residences, increased the number of rooms, lessened their dimensions, omitted the enormous windows, the great fireplaces overloaded with sculptures, employed mirrors lavishly, and replaced grandeur by pleasant and convenient arrangements. Love of comfort was substituted for pride. Palace Bourbon is the first building in which was employed the new arrangement of plan; it was erected about 1722 by the duchess of Bourbon, mother of monsieur the duke." Girardini and L'Assurance were mentioned as architects.

340. Freer ornamental Exterior.

As an extension of this important treatment of plan and its more flexible arrangement of rooms must be mentioned a similar movement in the ornamental exterior. We have already made this movement predominant, which under Louis XIV within the decoration of the tendency of Berain-Marot, was prepared for by the transitional phase to the style of Louis XV, designated as the style of the Regency. We have now reached this.

Destailleur said to me once, that about 1713 and 1714 men passed into a charming period, the so-called Regency style. The works are somewhat bolder than in the Louis XV style, and at the same time are somewhat less heavy than in that of Louis XIV.

The most famous example of this transition from the severe tendency of Louis XIV to the freest one of Louis XV must in fact be Robert de Cotte's great and magnificent gallery doree. It is to be found in his extension in 1713-1719 of the Hotel de la Vrilliere, now a part of the Bank of France at Paris. As Figs. 64 and 355 show,⁵³⁵ the members form a visible structural framework, and they have incidentally retained the dimensions usual in the classical phases. The ideas of the different motives might as well be classical. Anything is otherwise only in reference to treatment in expression and the emphasis on the details. The animated movement of the enclosures is only necessitated by the free opinions of the master.

Note 535. Reproduced from an old engraving in Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. Vol. V a. No. 232.

417 c. Decorative Tendency of the Group Gillot-Watteau.

341. Characteristics and Importance.

We have had frequent opportunity to refer to the important impulse in French decoration, formed by the works of a number of masters comprised under the name of the group of "Gillot-Watteau". The protest against the stiff fashion and the many unnatural things of the time of Louis XIV on the one hand drove them into the sphere of the most amusing free caprice, they adopted from the freer tendency of Louis XIV many decorative motives of the tendency of Berain-Marot. They were on the other hand impelled into free nature. But at the same time, they again felt drawn anew to return to the severe grotesque style of Raphael's Loggias, and treated these in the fashion of the style of Louis XVI, that appeared soon. They could combine in the loggias the noblest severity of ornament with the finest conventionalized naturalness of men, plants and animals. But this return to nature and to naturalness followed within an unnatural frame from the domain of caprice. There are landscape elements, fragments in entirely naturalistic conception and tone, that are introduced into grotesque decorations. They are combined with architectural elements, pergolas of lattice-work, or grand designs of fountains, terraces, or grottos in the rockwork style. Likewise in the midst of the latter are reproduced accurately after nature the falling of water and different groups of plants, as for example, in the composition by de la Jolle (1687-1781), called "La Fontaine".⁵³⁶

Note 536. Illustrated in Guilmard, D. Les Maîtres Orneman-
tistes etc. Paris. 1881. Pl. 53.

342. Its chief Masters.

Claude Gillot (1673-1722) is usually named as one of the first of those, who abandoned the stiff pomp of the style of Louis XIV. Gillot based his work far more on the bizarre, than on the Barocco tendency. In his model portiere for tapestries known as "Bacchus", one half his composition already appears again in the severe tendency of the coming style of Louis XVI.⁵³⁷

Note 537. Illustrated in Guilmard. Pls. 48, 42.

To this group further belongs Claude Audran (1658-1734).

He composed 12 panels for pilasters, designated "months of the year", that belong to the best of that period. As a more refined artist, he reanimates the style of Raphael's Loggias and blends together in the most graceful manner portions of borders from the bizarre tendency of Berain and Marot, foliage, animals and musical apes in the vivid manner of della Bella, with entire portions, that already belong to the coming and entirely mature style of Louis XVI. These are indeed the best pilaster panels since Raphael and Giovanni da Udine. They have the piquancy always possessed by grotesque decorations, and without falling into indecency have a "non so che di amoroso", which is especially graceful.

The third master of this group is the famous Antoine Watteau from Valenciennes. (1684-1721). At first influenced by Gillot and Audran, his Franco-Flemish nature led him back to Rubens, and in this way he developed his own refined originality.

The tendency to a free treatment of the ornamental in the sense of Daniel Marot is also found in the vignettes of Bernard Picart,⁵³⁷ composed and engraved in 1727. An example of the further development of this tendency, but wherein the elements of the group of Gillot-Watteau's strongly predominate, also appears to me to be given in a tapestry panel by Oppenordt (1673-1742); on the contrary, the pediment in which the central figure stands, shows forms derived from the freest and most capricious shapes of the Barocco of Michelangelo, Dietterlin, and of the time of Louis XIII.⁵³⁸

Note 538. Guilmard. Pl. 46.

343. Source of the Styles of Louis XV and Louis XVI.

The composition of Gillot for the "portiere" designated as "Bacchus" is far more in the character of the style of Louis XVI, than in that of Louis XV. It is, so to speak, a direct transfer from the tendency of Berain-Marot into the Louis XVI style. The natural elements and their treatment in the natural style of the Loggias predominate.⁵³⁹ The same may be said of the plates mentioned as by Oppenordt.

Note 539. Guilmard. Pls. 46, 48.

The further development of the Regency style produced the different branches of the Louis XV style, the last phase of the second period of the French Renaissance, for which we

have adopted the designation of "Fashion" or "Genre" style.

7. Origin of the Forms of the Style of Louis XV.

344. Need of Animation.

For the further development of the free tendency in taste of such a pleasure-seeking and refined society, there must first of all be given to the decoration an animated, light and refined character. The style phase of Louis XV is the age of triumph in art and in the play of the most animated course of lines, as well as of the combination of variously shaped surfaces, in the midst of vibrant harmonies and piquant contrasts. Easily and unexpectedly does it combine in a charming manner forms, whose collision appears unavoidable; others, whose junctions would be expected capriciously separate abruptly. Here suddenly occurs a novel motive: there lightly touch two curves of opposed curvatures, like graceful dancers in a country dance. In another place is a bold attainment of the purpose in an unexpected and secure manner with a spirited and elastic curved movement. Everywhere charms the graceful play of an apparently exhaustless imagination, whose interweavings sometimes offer something of the mysterious grace of Arab patterns.

The means by which more life was brought into the composition are:-- the accenting of the upward aspiring character of the decoration; the use of lines, that produce the impression of animated movement; the employment of certain elements from the plant or animal kingdom; the use of human figures; the avoidance of symmetrical composition, which permits more strongly the production of the direction of a movement.

Emphasis on the aspiring Tendency of the Decoration.

345. Transformation of Forms of Enclosures.

Men sought in this period every means for giving more life to the architecture. The accenting of rising forms is one of these. The treatment of enclosures is the chief element for attaining this. In this "salon and boudoir" style, the decoration of the enclosures of the wall panels, of doors and of mirrors, plays a prominent and frequently a dominant part; as Semper truly remarks,⁵⁴⁰ this replaces the pilasters and their entablature. The possibility of replacing the angular or rectangular heavy finish of the entablature by vivaciously

curved aspiring finish, or by that capriciously rounded, may have been one of the means, that contributed to the favoring and development of this style of wall enclosures. The caprice previously employed itself in the grotesque work of the entire paneling of the wall, was frequently limited to the development of the lower and upper portions of the enclosure, with sometimes a medallion.⁵⁴¹

Note 540. See Semper, G. *Der Stil* etc. Frankfurt-a-M. and Munich. 1860-1863. p. 350. (2nd edition. p. 333).

Note 541. In the Cabinet of Madame Adelaide in the panels of the jambs of the doorways (1753) and in those of the wall decorated in 1767, are large suspended trophies of musical instruments etc. In the Cabinet of the King (1735 and 1755), the suspended trophies with medallions are scarcely less prominent. Yet this appears rather to be an exception. (Illustrated in Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. Pls. 52-57, there designated as *Salon des Medailles*).

The entire play of the lines of borders on the enclosures of doors, walls and mirrors, produces the accent of an assured and frequently animated aspiration upwards. Lower beginnings filled with movement and upper endings of the enclosures, the production of sharp contrasts of the rectangular corners for the benefit of a smaller central piquant contrast of the resulting grouping of forms, produces this aspiring impression.

346. Preparation in the Barocco Style.

In the Barocco style, which prepared the way, the returns form a means by the interruptions of the horizontal elements for more closely combining the vertical members and for accenting the "aspiration upwards". The breaking of the pediments in the Barocco style and their resolution into fragments of pediments, pedestals and attic motives, coincide with the desire for increasing the number of aspiring motives like acroterias. It is a breach with what is thought heavy in favor of the aspiring character of the Gothic style.

Instead of the curved and broken pediments of the Barocco (Fig. 56) occur the uniformly curved S-enclosures, and the variously arranged crow's beak horns replace the parts in which terminate the Barocco pediments, and they produce numerous vivid contrasts of the course of the lines.

347. Crow's Beak Form.

The origin of the crow's beak form lies on the one hand in the broken S-pediment, and it directly occurs with Bernini and Borromini in the case, when they form the ears of the architraves of doorways like S-consoles seen in profile, their upper volutes rising above the apex of the external enclosure.

On the doorway of the library in the Sapienza at Rome, Borromini even gave to these ears approximately the curved outlines of the human ear; the same occurs on the doorway of the Casino of Garchesa del Bufalo near S. Andrea del Fratte at Rome; on the doorway of the Convent of Padri del Riscatto, very bold volute forms turn their backs to support the cornice.(Borromini). With Pietro da Cortona, they are found as broken S-pediments on the windows of Palace Gambirasi and as the finial of the enclosure above the doorways of S. Martina and S. Luca; with Borromini as ears also on the doorway of the Sapienza toward the Place di S. Eustachio. Giovanni Antonio de Rossi employed the crow's beak form in a strongly expressed manner on the S-pediment of the lower doorway to the great stairway, and as ears on the doorway of the great hall in Palace Altieri at Rome, exactly with the same character, that occurs on the enclosures of the time of Louis XV.

Forms of consoles, whether broken by a straight line or composed of two C-arches of opposed directions and drawn from the same source, increase the number of linear forms, that serve as the type of the forms of this phase of the Louis XV style.

348. Transformation of the Grotesque Paneling.

The change in the character of the grotesque mentioned in the group of Berain-Marot is frequently so advanced, that no further words are needed to explain the final transformation of certain elements into the forms of the free tendency of Louis XV. One feels this instinctively. This contributed to developing the detail forms of the decoration. In many detail forms of the group of Gillot-Watteau, this transformation of forms is carried further to those of the style of Louis XV. The scene for the development of the "grotesque play" is changed. It generally loses the character of a paneling of the wall, and enters into closer connection with the border decor-

decoration, frequently becoming a part of the latter. The round and semicircular panels, that ornament the pilasters of the early Renaissance, and those forming the centre and frequently the ends of the wall paneling in the marble veneering of the walls under Louis XIV, were developed as medallion or rosette motives, as the upper and lower terminations of enclosures, with rich interweaving of lines, leaves, branches with leaves, and rockwork motives, to become the chief elements of the salon style under Louis XV. (compare Figs. 352 and 353 with 355-357). The character of this sportive caprice frequently consists rather in the interlacing band-like ornaments, a further development of the *moresques* of the time of Du Cerceau, than of *grotesques* proper; combinations of small C and S arches, that are capriciously arranged beside each other and interlaced, forming circular, rosette and band motives. The treatment of flowers in garlands, festoons and the like, is not that of the Loggias of Raphael, but is rather in the Dutch fashion of the age of Louis XIV-

349. Lightening the Forms.

One feels that in the inmost souls of the Frenchmen and women of that time was a strong desire to free themselves from the adopted elements of Spanish grandeur, from the Castilian dignity and precision of Louis XIV, and to be able to freely yield themselves to their native Gallic spirit. The effect of the latter contributed to the fact, that in the further development of the style, the scale of the decorative elements ever became more refined, as may be observed in Figs. 354 to 358. This concerns the strength and thickness of the forms and lines, in which are expressed the most playful conceits of graceful coquetry and caprice.

From the latest works of P. de Nolhac on the decorations in Versailles, one might think that the existing architecture of the Cabinet of the King, one of the most important apartments of the Palace, opposes the fact that the style of the mural borders continually became more refined. Yet we shall see that the rebuilding in 1755 retained a portion of the older decorations and extended this, or that this ornamentation may at least be explained by the peculiarities of the royal school of Versailles.

8. Different Fashions or Branches of the Style in the time of Louis XV.

350. Designation of the Fashions.

We subdivide the various style tendencies in interior decoration during the free tendency of the time of Louis XV into the following "kinds" or "fashions", which form actual branches of the style:--

- a. The royal school or the school of Versailles.
- b. The palm-tree fashion.
- c. The fashion of apes and Chinese.
- d. The rockwork fashion.
- e. The Rococo fashion.

In emphasizing separately and determining the different branches of the style of Louis XV, we have permitted ourselves to be diverted from the character of the different tendencies, that we believed were recognized. We have endeavored to more fully determine what peculiarities on the one hand accord with the various existing appellations of the Louis XV, rockwork, Pompadour and Rococo styles, and to thereby more accurately limit these branches; but on the other hand in the case of those works incorrectly designated by the existing names, to indicate the characteristics, that lend to them a definite character and a special tendency, for which we have adopted new terms in order to bring greater clearness and order into the general description.⁵⁴² In this wise originated the branch of the "royal school" of the style of Louis XV and of the "internal decoration of the Palace at Versailles",⁵⁴³ and the "palm-tree" fashion, which was indeed merely a subdivision, but appears to deserve a special name, as much as the rockwork tendency.

Note 542. I have always placed especial weight on the decision of Destailleur, as soon as it became known to me, since during twenty years of friendly intercourse with him, I have learned to ever prize more highly his worth. One seldom finds in an architect such a wealth of knowledge in all spheres of French decoration since the Renaissance. The objective understanding, the conscientiousness, the quiet foresight, with which he examined everything as an artist of refined feeling and an honorable man, should be emphasized in the interest of the matter.

Note 543. Style of the royal school or the tendency of the decoration of the Palace of Versailles under Louis XV.

Destailleur is accustomed to employ the names of the style of the Regency and style of Louis XV. The first name relates to the transition from the style of Louis XIV to the style of Louis XV, the latter has prevailed for it since about 1735-1736. The expression "rockwork style" or Rococo has never been used by him (so far as I remember).

a. Fashion of the Royal School of the Palace at Versailles.

351. Character.

The peculiarity of the group of works belonging here is first, so to speak, that they adhere firmly to the character of the borders in the gallery doree in Paris, and form a further development in the sense of a gradual refinement thereof; second, they pass over to the peculiar rockwork style, adopt only very few elements of this kind and moderately subordinate them; third, they employ within the arrangement of the lines of this subdued Louis XV style instead of many rockwork motives, many flower and leaf motives, garlands etc., of the coming or already existing Louis XVI style. We have to do with a gradual transition from the style of Berain-Marot and of the Regency to the style of Louis XVI, without properly passing through the rockwork and Rococo fashions.

The Louis XV decorations thereby acquire a less capricious, less coquettish, but more graceful character, than is the case in the pronounced examples of the rockwork tendency. The Cabinet of Madame Adelaide (in Rouyer, Salon des Medailles) at Versailles, decorated by Verberecht in 1753,⁵⁴⁴ exhibits this character very plainly, and the fourth side of the same room,⁵⁴⁵ decorated by the same master in 1767, is still more clearly expressed, especially in the beautiful mirror frames and the narrow bands on the walls. The library of the Dauphin shows the same tendency. These peculiarities may partly result from the fact, that in the rebuilding frequently occurring between 1735, 1752 and 1767, causing a change in the decorations, the orders of the Marquis de Marigny and of others were to use all the old work. Hence the extensions must therefore be exact repetitions of older forms and be suited to

their more quiet style. On the other hand it is probable, that even at the court of Louis XV the feeling existed, that the decoration of the official residence of the king must have a more quiet and moderate tone, that the private salons and boudoirs.

Note 544. Illustrated in Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. Pls. 52, 54. -- Plate 53 shows the side decorated in 1767.

Note 545. Illustrated by P. de Nolhac, in the Gazette des Beaux Arts. Series 3. Vol. 14 (1895). p. 224.

352. Examples.

The entire paneling of the chamber of the queen in Versailles, produced in 1735,⁵⁴⁶ the decoration of the small sleeping chamber of the king executed in 1738, that of the cabinet de la pendule, also from 1738 with its ceiling frieze of 1760, the private cabinet of the queen (1746), the cabinet of Madame Adelaide (1753), the library of the dauphin and of Marie Josephe of Saxony (1755), afford a series of works in which one may follow the further development of the style of Louis XV in its best examples. The rockwork motives are never predominant and are used with great discretion. From this lack of rockwork motives in two rooms, which Alfred Darcel⁵⁴⁷ dates about the year 1736, he feels himself compelled to conclude, that the origin of the rockwork style is to be placed later, than it is generally assumed. According to Nolhac, these works were even later than Darcel assumed, and this supports our understanding, that in the buildings of the Palace of Versailles the rockwork motive was little employed in general.⁵⁴⁸

Note 546. The ceiling is in part later, also in part perhaps older. -- Illustrations of this apartment are given by P. de Nolhac in his Studies, mentioned in Notes 549-551.

Note 547. See Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. p. 53, 55.

Note 548. On the mantel of the dauphin's bedroom (1747), in the former cabinet of the great dauphin, the bronze decorations by Cassieri exhibit the animated rocaille character of Meissonnier. On the cornice of this room, as well as on that of the salon de la pendule (1760), is the rockwork character clearly expressed. This occurs in the latter room in the manner shown in the following Fig. 352.

b. Palm-tree Fashion.

353. Examples at Versailles.

One of the earliest forms in which men sought freedom from the constraint of the Louis XIV tendency, and at the same time showed a certain inclination for free natural forms, is manifested by a certain preference for the forms of palm-trees, both of the trunk as well as of the head and of the branches. There is found, so to speak, a "palm fashion", a style tendency of the Louis XV period, comparable to the "rockwork fashion", but in which the "rockwork motives" are replaced by "palm-tree motives". We know this much, that no reference has yet been made to the connection of these phenomena. In this fashion were executed the new decorations of the chamber of the queen in the Palace of Versailles by Yerbereckt in 1735. The sides of the mirror frames of the main paneling and the caps of the doorways are formed like palm trunks, whose heads support medallions or form the termination of the upper ending.⁵⁴⁹ Bending palm-trees likewise form the top of the enclosure of the alcove opening into the small bedroom of the king. (Louis XV). This decoration was likewise executed by Verber-eckt in 1738.⁵⁵⁰

Note 549. Pierre de Nolhac has published (in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, series 3, vol. 16 (1896), p. 39) the original drawing for this still partially preserved decoration.

Note 550. The same in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. Vol. 14. (1895). p. 219.

Further examples in Versailles are:-- the mirror frames in the former cabinet of the great dauphin (1747) by Verbereckt, which was later that of the dauphin, father of Louis XVI; the frame of the mirror in the angle cabinet or salon de musique, also originally decorated in 1738 by Verbereckt, with restorations of 1760; Nolhac speaks here of "palm branches woven into garlands".⁵⁵¹

Note 551. See *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. Vol. 14 (1895). p. 224; vol. 17 (1897). p. 190.

An expressive example of this liking for palms was the high altar, which Francois Blondel II (or the younger) executed for Church S. Sauveur at Paris. (Fig. 65).⁵⁵²

Note 552. Reproduced from an old engraving in the *Cabinet des Estampes* at Paris. Vol. H d. 193.

354. Prototypes in Borromini.

This ornamental use of palms in rather striking dimensions had already occurred in Italy. Borromini had exclusively employed them as enclosures of the circular openings in the tympanums of the windows on the College de Propagande Fide at Rome. He likewise used them in a yet more striking manner as external additions to the doorway jambs for almost their entire height on the Oratory of S. Filippo Neri; as a vere large palm leaf, a palm breaks through the pediment of the same doorway. He further employed them as external additions to the round arches on the window over the doorway of the Sapienza at Rome, that leads to Place S. Eustachio.

355. German Examples.

A similar use of palms on German buildings is found in the Palace at Karlsruhe in the chapel and as mirror frames in the hall of receptions, in the hall of knights, in the Palace at Schleissheim, and especially in that at Bayreuth.

c. Apes and Chinese Fashions.

356. Origin.

Another ornamental tendency is composed of the scenes with monkeys. About the end of the reign of Louis XIV, Chinese objects became articles of luxury and fashion. In the compositions of Gillot and of Watteau, persons in Chinese costumes play European games. "In the ideas of the period, it was but a step from the sons of heaven to apes," said H. Chevignard.⁵⁵³ Hence as well as from the skill of the animal painters at the time, arose the strangest mixture of ornamental motives, in which besides their natural acts, a multitude of "richly grotesque" things were attributed to the apes. Thus originated in the Chateau at Chantilly the great and small scenes with apes, and in the Hotel de Rohan (now National Printing Establishment) the famous decoration by Huet (1745-1811) in the great hall; here apes and other animals, mandarins, women and children, together in delightful jest, displaying their nature and their sports.

Note 553. Se Lechevallier-Chevignard. Les Styles Francais. Paris. 1892. f. 350.

Later occur the motives of Chinese gardens, fearfully curved flights of steps, balustrades, garden kiosks and swings,

which appear as far removed from reality as Pompeian caprices. Then originated the work of Peyrotte (without date, but really about 1740), entitled:-- *Livre des Trophees Chinoises*, inventees par Peyrotte.

d. Rockwork Fashion.

357. French Views.

The expression of rockwork style, rocaille style, or rockwork forms, belong with the most frequent appellations found in certain French authors, for naming the style of Louis or its forms. The indefiniteness of this term requires a closer consideration of the matter. In French views concerning the nature and the duration of the rockwork fashion prevails no real accord. Darcel ⁵⁵⁴ writes in reference to the purpose and the beginning of the rockwork style as follows:-- "Its beginning is usually placed in the time of the Regency"; yet with reference to the ceiling of the chamber of the queen in Versailles, that was in part newly decorated about 1734, he might place the beginning of this style tendency somewhat later. He further writes:-- "Boffrand, in about the second third of the 18 th century, appears to have created this style; it came in place of that produced by the compositions of Bérain". Raoul Rosieres ⁵⁵⁵ says in reference to the reaction, that set in directly after the death of Louis XIV:-- "Robert de Cotte revealed himself on the morrow as an original master in inventing the rockwork style," and later:-- "That special form of architecture soon appeared, the architecture of the small mansions, what is termed according to its development, Rocaille, Pompadour or Rococo". Hence one should conclude, that Rosieres wishes to designate by Rocaille the beginning of the tendency, i.e., the style of the Regency, the gallery doree (1713). Guilmard employs the following expressions:-- "graceful subjects in rockwork" or "pastoral figures in rockwork"; he further speaks of "Rocaille scrolls", of "Rocaille scrolls and foliage, Rocaille motives, Rocaille vases and Rocaille cartouches". Nolhac further speaks of a frieze in the cabinet of the dauphin (Hall 46), ⁵⁵⁶ in the ground story at Versailles as composed of "Rocaille scrolls wherein birds pursue dogs"; concerning the chamber of the dauphin (Hall 49), he speaks of the "wide and partly gilded frieze, where divinities are mingled with cupids and sport in the rockwork". In

the same apartment is a mirror framed with palm trunks; in it is on the mantel a shell beside rockwork.⁵⁵⁷

Note 554. See Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. p. 54, 59.

Note 555. See *L'Evolution de l'Architecture en France* in the *Petite Bibliotheque d'Art et d'Archaeologie* published under direction of M. Kaempfen, Director of the National Museums and of the School of the Louvre. Paris. 1894. p. 203, 204.

Note 556. This refers to the dauphin, father of Louis XV, who married Marie Josephe of Saxony on Feb. 9, 1747.

Note 557. See *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. March, 1897, p. 190.

It therefore appears more correct to refer the name of Rocaille rather to the ornamental element of the varied shell forms, that are found within a Louis XV decoration, than to apply it strictly to a phase of the Louis XV style.⁵⁵⁸ Rigid definition and conventional limitation appear difficult, and it is therefore more correct to speak of the Rocaille fashion and of Rocaille elements and forms of detail.

Note 558. This seems to be likewise the opinion of Vaudoyer, one of the few French architects of importance, who attempt to review the entire development of French architecture:-- "In internal decorations", he writes, "the desire of bringing the ornamentation back to a purer style produced dryness, and desiring to escape from the fashion termed Rocaille, that characterizes the period of Louis XV, they immediately fell into a sort of studied and mean affectation". (See *Patria; La France Ancienne et Moderne, Morale et Materielle* etc. Paris. 1847. Vol. 2. p. 2191). Proceeding in the same sense, Vaudoyer appears to understand the term Rocaille as in some degree a name for the very free phase of Louis XV.

358. Meaning of the Word Rocaille.

In Germany men appear inclined to derive the term Rococo from Rocaille and Rocaille from Rococo, i.e. Rock. This view may be partially true, since it corresponds to one of the significations of the word Rocaille, but it cannot give the proper meaning. Rocaille indeed denotes in the art encyclopedias of the 18th century "a sort of architecture for the imitation of natural rocks" in grotto architecture, as Palissy frequently describes it, and as it was common in the 17th century before Lenotre. Adeline⁵⁵⁹ defines the word Rocaille:--

"decorations in rustic style with imitations or accessories of rocks, plants, etc." But since in the development of this style tendency, not rocks but shells form the starting point, two different meanings of the word Rocaille appear to be under consideration here.

Note 559. In his "Lexique de Termes d'Art. Paris. 1884.

As Rocaille is also designated as "certain groups of shell work mixed with rough stones of different sizes, such as one finds in the midst of rocks", and apparently from this was derived an ornamentation by shells and pebbles applied to the rough surface of stone. The use of the Rocaille motive in France much rather corresponds to the imitation of shells inserted at certain places, than to entire blocks of stone.

The word Rocaille already occurs on engravings of the 18th century, as for example in a series by A. Peyrotte (1743), designated as "Vases Rocailles", and on a plate with 6 "Cartouches Rocailles". There are 6 large panels by Fr. Boucher, one of which is termed "Rocaille"; groups of shells compose their principal motives. A series by De la Jone, "Nouveaux Tableaux d'Ornements et Rocailles", consists of properly Rococo ornament: curved borders of shell-work, naturalistic motives etc.

Since finally the shell borders are to be referred to the use of the regular "niche shells" by Michelangelo, the idea of Rocaille as "shell-work" and not as "rock-work" seems to be the origin of this style fashion.

359. Origin of the Rocaille Motive.

We therefore see that some place of beginning of the Rocaille fashion is in the gallery doree (after 1713); others would permit it to begin only about 1735. Some like R. Rosieres desire to ascribe the invention to Robert de Cotte, others like Guilmard to Meissonnier, who developed the second phase of the Louis XV style. In reality, we see Rocaille motives already in 1713 in the gallery doree: on the other hand the less strongly expressed examples appear to have only originated rather late in Versailles; thus for example, the cornice enclosing the ceiling in the hall de la pendule was only constructed in 1760. It therefore results that the Rocaille fashion is no true phase of the style of Louis XV, but a decorative tendency, which was employed during the entire duration

of the style, but it certainly was after 1735 the prevailing one outside Versailles.

What supports this statement is first, that the origin and the development of the Rocaille fashion, as previously stated, decidedly proceeded from the use of shell forms and not from an imitation of artificial rockwork and grotto-work,-- only in the later development, which one is justified in terming Rococo, is the representation of grotto-like forms clearly perceptible--; second, the fact is influential, that the use of both Rocaille elements, shell borders and rock motives, are considerably earlier.

The origin of the narrow ribbed shell-like Rocaille motives as continuous or merely occasional accessories of a border moulding can be referred by uninterrupted derivation to the details of Michelangelo on the exterior of S. Peter's at Rome; over the windows of the attic in the cornice are placed shells of semicircular form, the points downward; within these shells are inserted small round windows with their architraves, which are surrounded by the radiating flutes of the unconcealed portion of the shell, like a Rocaille motive. Moderna has repeated the motive on the attic of the facade. Entirely similar motives were employed by Borromini in S. Giovanni in Laterano at Rome, as well as over the doorway to the winding staircase beside the Gate Porta Santa.

Shells likewise occur with Michelangelo; on the Capitol to fill the tympanums of the windows of the second story; on the exterior of S. Peter's in Rome, in the tympanum of the upper window in the pediment, in the attic as a central motive of the window cap, in the small niches as a decoration of the vaults, and on the Gate Porta Pia at Rome to fill the pediments of its side windows.

Instead of round windows, Bernini has frequently inserted shields of arms in the centres of shells, their architraves being likewise surrounded by the latter in a radiating way; he already placed these shell margins within a cartouche. Examples thereof may be seen on Palace Barberini and on the doorway of the Hospital of S. Spirito in Rome. Borromini has done the same in a much more virile way in the shield of arms over the inner doorway of S. Giovanni in Laterano at Rome.

On the mantel of the hall in Palace Barberini, Bernini has finally a head in full face in the middle of a shell, whose flutes surround the head and are treated in form of palms or leaves.

In the gallery of Apollo in the Louvre at Paris,⁵⁶⁰ Lebrun has indeed adopted exactly the motive of a head inserted in a shell, which is surrounded as if by the rays of a halo, and he applied it in keystone forms.

Note 560. Illustrated in Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. Pls. 33, 34.

360. Development of the Motive.

Let us now pass to the Regency style. Already in Robert de Cotte's gallery doree (1713-1719) the shell repeatedly appears, not as a high Renaissance motive, but as a Rocaille element, and also here again as a background and with medallion profile in the keystone of a frame (Fig. 355), then in quadrant shape forming the lower angle of the mirror and to receive the sconces on the wall (Fig. 64). Likewise the shells, that appear to compose the arch of the niche, are irregularly treated and are covered at the centre by a second smaller shell, so to speak, as a background for the head of the statue.

We now pass to the proper Rocaille fashion. Here in the famous decoration by Boffrand in Hotel de Soubise at Paris we may be clearly seen this further connection. In the chamber of princess Rohan,⁵⁶¹ there is in the paneling of the wall between the door and the mirror a medallion with a relief placed exactly in the middle of a raised shell, whose uncovered position has the effect of a narrow continuous, wavy imagined, fluted Rocaille border of the frame of the medallion. The transfer of this motive to the medallion in the frieze above the mirror is quite natural for the reason of esthetic analogy. And as a comb-like accessory of the upper termination of the mirror frame, the connection with this is so manifest, that no further evidence is needed to make thenceforth intelligible the mode of extending such shell-combs to other places of the enclosing forms. In the salon of the Hotel, over the doorway (Fig. 356), may be seen a similar transfer to the border of a medallion.

Note 561. Illustrated in Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. Pls. 66, 67.

From this narrow margin of a shell to its treatment as the

edge of a leaf, as in the medallion over the mirror in the hall of the former Hotel de Roquelaure (about 1740) at Paris, now ministry of Public Works, is really but a step;⁵⁶² it is only a variation of the same motive. In the cap of the doorway in the same hall the border is itself treated as such a ribbed shell form; in the keystone motive of the border are grouped together three shells.

Note 562. Illustrated in Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. Pl. 77.

On the ceiling of the chamber of the queen in the Palace at Versailles, there are four medallions in the middle of the ceiling vault, which belong to the restoration of 1735, inserted in shells, but which have borders in cartouche form. The narrow Rocaille border above is shaped in leaf forms, and the free margin of the shell-cartouche is covered by two rows of long and narrow overlapping shells. The medallion over the mirror in the small chamber of the king at Versailles (1738) is likewise placed in the middle of a shell, that here forms a Rocaille border. On the windows of the Palace of prince Pio at Rome, Camillo Arcucci executed a frieze of ogee section, whose ogee fluting is borrowed from a sarcophagus, and it is connected with a broken ogee pediment of the inner enclosure; it already has the same effect as many of those Rocaille motives, concerning which one is not certain, whether they are leather, leaves or shell flutes.

361. Rockwork Motives.

The second decorative element of the Rocaille fashion, the imitation of grotto-like forms of natural rocks, is based on earlier models. We find them with Bernini and in the grottos of Bernard Palissy. In these as well as in the 17th century, this is one of the forms in which is expressed the need of the freer forms of nature.

An important model for the use of natural objects of irregular forms, rather than for the detail forms themselves, Bernini has indeed given on the facade of Palace della gran Curia Innocenziana, now Palace of the Parliament at Rome; the entire palace appears plain and as if cut out of a solid rock. At the angles have been left natural stones. But especially the entire frieze of the windows, as in a sense the upper cap of the architrave, has been left as a natural surface of stone.

Likewise there projects a considerable portion of the window sills as a rock not even roughly dressed with the point. On Bernini's design for the Louvre, the entire sloping foundation wall of the facade was designed as a wall of natural rock. Bernini's Fountain on Place Navona at Rome must be mentioned here; the natural stones of irregular form with their naturally growing plants cut in stone, the papal arms and the obelisk, that stands on the substructure, are true "combinations" for the time of Watteau and the Rocaille period. Likewise the Fountain by Bernini on Place Barberini at Rome with the Tritons has something of the Rocaille spirit in itself.

These examples suffice to make intelligible every other occurrence of the Rocaille element. In Fig. 358 (from Chateau Rambouillet), for example, may be seen in the domain of the Rocaille, mermaids, polypus figures, a cornucopia, and a spring shell treated as foliage.

362. Employment of Rocaille Motives.

The impulse then to yield more and more to the free play of the line in caprice, combined with the inclination to employ elements from free nature, led to the development of a peculiar tendency in decoration. The desire to free themselves as much as possible from the fetters of regularity, the increasing enjoyment in the harmonious movement of unsymmetrical forms led to the search among the works of creation for models, that appeared to be formed on similar principles. Men adopted the most contorted shell forms with or without points. They were mostly applied in the elongated form of a comb as additions at the sides of the enclosing elements of a composition or to crown certain points of this. They were used at another time to fill a depression at an angle or to form the transition between two different directions. That form was given to them, required by the composition; they are sometimes festooned, pierced by openings, like a mass of porcelain, that again suddenly assumes the shape and movement of a swift wave. Palm leaves, that likewise appear to be made of porcelain, various twigs and leaves, C-arches, cartouches, and everything conceivable, are combined with these forms.

Moreover it is not always easy to say what is pure Rocaille; for these forms are sometimes treated more leaf-like, at oth-

others like a cut-out wrought material.

These Rocaille motives finally acquire a kind of decorative independence; the chief value is placed on the texture of their surfaces, on the movement of their outlines. Therefore men give to them on certain occasions the delicate elongated points and the serrations of a thistle leaf. In Oppenordt are found dragons' wings, entire eagles indeed, which if the outline alone were seen, might be regarded as Rocaille motives. One is finally justified in speaking of the "Rocaille scrollwork." The works of Meissonnier are frequently taken by many as types of the Rocaille fashion.

363. Masters of the Rocaille Fashion.

Germain was one of the artists, who contributed most to the development of this system of forms. One frequently cannot tell whether shell or wave forms are represented.⁵⁶³ Men believe that they frequently see in the Rocaille forms the indispensable line of the wave crests, which are grooved and beaten by the wind, and are driven against an embankment wall. Springer recalls the unexampled liking for porcelain work in the past century. Indeed, many perforated forms in connection with Rocaille forms recall articles made of that material.

Note 563. Germain, P. *Elements d'Orfèvrerie*. Paris. 1748. p. 121. Illustrated in Jessen.

P. E. Babel was one of the best known among the designers of Rocaille work. He was likewise goldsmith, draftsman and engraver about the middle of the 18th century and died in 1770.

Francois de Cuvillies the father (1698-1768), who worked much in Germany, appears to have been one of the chief masters in this tendency.

364. French Examples.

The everywhere lightly animated and most delicate forms, which appear to be magically and invitingly improvised, are on the one hand presented by the salon of the chateau at Rambouillet (Fig. 358), on the other by the decoration of the vaults of the oval salon in Hotel de Soubise at Paris. The forms are here rather combined in groups, although in part so slight and capricious, and they stand out more sharply from the interspaces left vacant. The decoration at Rambouillet

is more uniformly wrought out, without being anywhere monotonous. The salon of the Ministry of Public Works in Paris, formerly Hotel de Roquelaure, appears to have been decorated about 1740. The ornamentation is less free and refined in movement than that of Rambouillet, yet in some degree is allied to it.

Note 564. Illustrated in Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 2. Pls. 75 to 79.

About 1735, Boffrand was charged with the internal decoration of Hotel de Soubise, begun by Delamare after 1697, indeed about 1706, and which forms a part of the present National Archives at Paris. Compared with the severe formality of the great king, there could be no greater contrast, than these curved outbursts of free imagination and caprice, which are to be seen in the upper terminations of the mural decoration. (Fig. 356) and in the richly interlaced ornamentation of the vault. The entire contrast between the styles of Louis XIV and of Louis XV is already expressed here. And yet these are already mixed with the most capricious forms of the Rococo and naturalistic foliage, with fruits of the natural plants of the approaching style of Louis XVI. If Boffrand's internal decorations for Hotel de Soubise actually originated in 1706, as stated by many, then must the style of this master have been from 10 to 20 years in advance of that of Robert de Cotte. Yet we believe in the correctness of Duval's statement,⁵⁶⁵ who places these decorations in the years 1735-1740. They are still preserved. The finest painted ornamentation of panels, tympanums etc., is by Natoire, Carle Vanloo, Boucher and Tremoliere. Works of the two last are dated from 1737 and 1739, and this must be decisive for the accuracy of David's dates.⁵⁶⁶

Note 565. See Rouyer & Darcel. Vol. 1. p. 59 et seq.

Note 566. In "Nouvel Itineraire", -- Artistic and Archeological Guide to Paris; Paris. 1895-1896, Charles Normand characterizes these apartments as "decorated by the architect Boffrand from 1735 to 1740 with incredible magnificence and taste." Rivoalen in Planat's Encyclopedie de l'Architecture, vol. 6. Paris. 1892. p. 575, also follows the erroneous date of 1706.

The Rocaille fashion in France is essentially limited to t

the insertion, so to speak, of a usually small and not predominating number of Rocaille elements as sporadically occurring incrustations in the midst of Louis XV compositions, whose character was expressed in Art. 344. If only executed examples be considered, we cannot understand why these have been designated by a special name.

To acquire a proper understanding of this appellation and tendency, it is necessary to follow on the one hand the engraved compositions of masters like Babel and Cuvillies, from which the Rococo proceeded, and on the other to glance at the development of the Rocaille fashion by French and other masters in Germany.

365. Examples in Germany.

Here are especially to be mentioned the works of Cuvillies in the Amalienburg in Nymphenburg Park near Munich. The so-called silver room there with its blue background exhibits a phase of the development of the style and decoration, that according to the opinion of Destailleur, has not its like in France. It is especially characteristic that in contrast to most creations of the age of Louis XV, we here stand before not merely an enduring ornamentation, but that stucco decorations like stamped leather fill the entire panels of the wall.

⁵⁶⁷ We are not here before Rocaille motives, that are more or less numerous and almost timidly scattered within Louis XV ornamentation; rather do the Rocaille motives form in the lower half, as well as above, a connected design. Two great boughs, or more correctly, two small trees cross each other within the panel; above sport cupids in fanciful games in the midst of Rocaille boughs and garlands. It is further characteristic, that in the silver room the enclosure of the small doors with their high transoms have above and below especially projecting angles, that are formed as Rocaille ears. If the date (1734) given by Donme for the completion of the silver room be correct, then have we here a French branch of the Rocaille style on German soil, that apparently expresses the character of this tendency more fully, than the contemporary French examples. It would likewise prove, that the Rocaille fashion was contemporary with the proper Louis XV style, and does not represent a later development thereof.

Note 567. Illustrated in Dohme, R. Barock und Rococo Architektur. Berlin. 1884-1891. Vol. 2. Pls. 112-113.

The round dining room in the Amalienburg, apparently built in 1734, is likewise a very beautiful work, which shows a certain relationship to the oval salon of Hotel de Soubise at P Paris, but nevertheless makes known an independent development of the style.

The last word of the Rocaille is likewise perhaps to be sought in Germany. The mirror frames ⁵⁶⁸ over an angle chimney-piece of the Palace at Würzburg seems to exhibit the richest degree of the development of this tendency. Around the frame proper extends one much wider and entirely perforated, composed of two unbroken lines of Rocaille scrolls, that unite above in a great central composition, which unfolds as the gleaming heart of a brilliant Rocaille firework. The whole appears to be a further development of the style of Cuvillies in the silver room of the Amalienburg. It shows such mastery of the exhaustless caprices of the richest imagination, that one cannot regret, that it is properly already in the realm of the overloaded. Here is the mastery of technics just as indescribable as the delimitation of the imagination. As in the Amalienburg and over the doors of the throne hall at Würzburg, the number of the easily flowing motives of the ornamentation is innumerable. The treatment of the surfaces and the points is so masterly and calculated for the location of the brilliant points in gilding and in silver, that one stands before this, blinded by the truly "sparkling effect".

Note 568. Gurlitt, C. Das Barock- und Rococo- Ornament Deutschlands. Berlin. 1885-1889. Pls.

By such undertakings, Rocaille ornamentation had reached the limits of human abilities. There remained further connections of Rocaille work and of imagination. They took pleasure in placing in certain cases shells branching like polyps, without other accessories, as keystones, angle ornaments etc., within a more severe architecture. ⁵⁶⁹

Note 569. In the festal hall of the Palace at Würzburg. Same work. Pls. 27, 80.

e. Rococo Fashion.

366. Determination of the meaning of "Rococo".

With the Rococo fashion, we pass to the last study of the development of the free tendency during the second period of the Renaissance, one may indeed say, the entire French Renaissance until the present time.

We most decidedly deplore the increasing custom of certain historians of art to give to the words Barocco and Rococo too extended conceptions. It is indeed very convenient to have catch words for designating an entire art tendency; but it would be better to seek anew for really correct appellations, and to abandon to the ancients their precise meaning, that they desired to extend to art tendencies, which they incorrectly designate. We employ the word Rococo here in such a limited manner as possible, and exclusively as a fashion of the Louis XV style, produced by the exaggeration of the Rocaille fashion. We shall return to the origin of this tendency on occasion of the description of the various phases.

367. Characteristics of the Rococo.

As basal peculiarities corresponding to the conception Rococo may be mentioned:--

- a. The exaggeration of the character of the Rocaille fashion.
- b. The omission of symmetry in cases in which it would appear natural and justifiable.
- c. Certain aspirations of the imagination, which comprise something so improbable and unnatural, that they are exposed to a certain ironic judgment and form an exaggeration of the Barocco, by which one is at the mercy of ridicule.

Destailleur gives some extracts from two interesting articles in the *Mercury de France* of 1754 and 1755, in which the copper engraver Cochin reviews this tendency of Meissonnier from the standpoint of the severe style. He blames him in the first one for the vagaries of his imagination. He feigns in the second a reply defending the part taken. It is said in the latter, that Oppenordt had at first performed much service in the tendency in question, but that the great Meissonnier had first entirely carried out his desires.

It follows from the preceding criticism by Cochin,⁵⁷⁰ that Meissonnier was regarded by his contemporaries as one, who had adopted the taste of Borromini, and who had done the same for France as Borromini had for Italy, in the sense of a freer

and gayer architecture. He first dropped the ancient use of straight lines everywhere, and he curved all kinds of cornices upward, downward, forward and backward. He invented contrasts and rejected symmetry, so that the two sides of a panel appeared to strive, which could most depart from the old straight form. He understood in a wonderful way how to bend cornices of the hardest marble in accordance with the ingenious caprices of cartouches in a pleasing way. He brought into acceptance that charming S-form of outlines, turning it everywhere, and his drawings were properly only a sole combination of this form in all possible directions, "he replaced everything by his darling S-outlines".

Note 570. Fragments thereof in Destailleur, H. *Notices sur quelques Artistes Francais*. Paris. 1863. p. 222 et seq.

368. Symmetry avoided.

In order to give more life to the compositions, the symmetry of form, which has its highest type in the view of the human figure seen in front, was dropped, and the principle expressed in the side view thereof was adopted. All lines and forms here produce the idea of forward movement in a direction clearly expressed. One stands before the avoided symmetry and thereby attains to the highest ideal of a period, which desired above all things to feel "free".

The possibility of creating with certainty and of attaining balance in harmony by the "compensations" between unlike elements satisfied the masters of the free tendency. They succeeded in realizing the ideal of the unrestricted. And still there is always a "harmony of unrestraint", an adherence to the arrangement required by the salon.

369. Italian Prototypes.

On the inner principal door of Church S. Andrea of the Jesuit novitiate at Rome, Bernini fastened two large angels to the frieze, the cornice, and the pediment of the otherwise severely treated doorway. One sits on the cornice; the other flies thereto, blowing a trumpet while turning around for this purpose, to announce his arrival. The first angel is placed much higher, holding in his right hand a great shield of arms against the apex of the pediment in an inclined direction; from his left hand flutters an immense roll of manuscript

upwards and sideways like a banner.

Carlo Fontana (1683) left the round medallion over the doorway of S. Marcello on the Corso at Rome to be held by a great standing angel, at the other side by a small one stooping, just for love of unsymmetry. The medallion over the doorway in Piazza di Maria in Passaione in Genoa is similarly supported.

370. Meissonnier.

Davilier ⁵⁷¹ writes of Justo Aurele Meissonnier:-- "Headifiers from all others by the overloaded and labored character of his compositions. They are of graceful frivolity, and the straight line is carefully banished from them". But in Art. 324, it has already been shown that Meissonnier did not exclusively employ this labored development of architecture and also that the elements of a severer architecture are found with him. Meissonnier's decorations of apartments, such as those for Count Pesenval or for a cabinet in Portugal, ⁵⁷² may on the other hand be termed truly Rococo works. The twisted legs of the mirror table and the volutes of the shells, cartouches and frames, everything appears as if blown by the wind, to bend, and passing up to the curved pieces of the entablature, to wave about like leaves in a cloud of dust.

Note 571. In preface to Guilmard, D. *Les Maitres Ornemanistes etc.* Paris. 1881. p. 155.

Note 572. Illustrated in the same, Pl. 52.

The climax of the form development of this free phase of the style in question appears to lie in one of these compositions of Meissonnier, even if not chronologically, since the style yet continued for thirty years. It is difficult to attain to a more complete avoidance of straight lines than is the case in the grotto, shown in Fig. 66. ⁵⁷³ Even the piers and flying buttresses are like breaking rollers or waves or appear to desire to hasten with the falling water of these. Errors in taste are no hindrance to recognizing in Meissonnier the assured dominance of the forms. Executed works of this style have indeed not become known to me in France.

Note 573. Reproduced from *Oeuvre de Juste Aurelle Meissonnier*. Paris. Sheet 35. N. D.).

371. Other Masters.

With Jean Pillemont (1719-1808), who worked in Paris, Lond-

London and Lyons, we find again Rococo compositions on the basis of the S-form, where instead of console-like rocks, everything is executed with trees and plants in natural forms.⁵⁷⁴ He employed many Chinese elements.⁵⁷⁵ This is the time when the gardens of Lenotre were supplanted by those "in the Anglo-Chinese style".

Note 574. Illustrated in Jenssen, P. Katalog der Ornamentstich-Sammlung des Kunstgewerbe-Museum zu Berlin. Leipzig. 1894. p. 53.

Note 575. See further, Guilford. p. 188.

With P. E. Babel, this tendency assumes other peculiarities. Great garden portals are represented in the most contorted lines, that might be suited for eccentric enclosures of a key-hole or of a small porcelain frame. Groups of loves, caressing turtle-doves, attributes of all kinds, and garlands of flowers animate these frames. The movement of these are however always developed in a harmonious equilibrium of contrasting lines and curves, and they show a bewildering mastery in this peculiarity.

Francois de Cuvillies (the father) likewise treated such portals, behind which he also permits the rays of a sun to break forth in the midst of a cloudy sky. The lines of the clouds here have to aid the equilibrium of a viaduct crowned with fountains and made of latticework. This is also quite properly termed a "bit of caprice".⁵⁷⁶ It is apparent, that during the severe period of Louis XIV the restricted imagination had leisure to collect rich treasures for the next generation, and that the latter also compensated itself recklessly and truly according to its heart's desire.

Note 576. Illustrated in Guilford. Pl. 63.

I have not succeeded in finding anywhere an executed French architectural monument, that really corresponds to the name and idea of Rococo, as this is established in the preceding.

372. German Examples.

It is otherwise in Germany. As for the shell (rocaille) fashion, so do we find there executed examples of the Rococo, which aid in better understanding the conception of this form of the style. Even if this name of Rococo be strictly limited to works, which proceed from the development of one of the

tendencies of the French style of Louis XV, and not like the Zwinger in Dresden from the direct development of the Italian Rococo, there may be enumerated in Germany a number of genuine Rococo works.

The Altar of Mercy at Vierzehnheiligen near Lichtenfels in Franconia (begun 1743) is shaped entirely in the forms of those fanciful designs of Babel and of others, the great garden portal being built in the shape of a colossal key-hole plate.
577 The term "Rococo" is perfectly appropriate there.

Note 577. Illustrated by R. Dohme in Zeits. f. Bild. Kunst. 1878. p. 288.

The transfer of the forms of internal decoration of the French salon style of Louis XV to the detail treatment of an external architecture may likewise be taken as one of the characteristics of a real Rococo architecture. In Würzburg, the inn "Zum Falken" with its charming facade may be taken as such an example. In Spain, the Palace of Marquis de Dos Aguas at Valencia has likewise an actual Rococo facade.

i. Masters from 1590 to about 1750.

1. Masters of the Age of Henry IV.

373. Survey.

The neglect of the study of the Age of Henry IV, mentioned in Art. 210, also extends to the knowledge of the architects of that time.⁵⁷⁸

Note 578. Lemonnier says that "the architects of the period of Henry IV occupy an undefined place between their predecessors and their successors; none attained to great fame".

For the same reasons, which impelled us to place just this phase in the most correct light, we will endeavor to do likewise for the architects of this period.

It is hard to say, whether the lack of good architects, of which the duke de Mayenne complained in 1590,⁵⁷⁹ existed to the degree apparently indicated by his words. These perhaps merely indicate, that the good architects mostly resided outside Paris, then besieged and abandoned by the king, therefore not being at Mayenne's command.

Note 579. On Aug. 26, 1590, in appointing a successor to Baptiste Du Perceau, Mayenne says:-- "Considering the few persons now capable of exercising the said office on account of

the misfortunes of the time, and being duly certain of the skill, capacity and experience in the art of painting, sculpture and architecture possessed by the said Biart"--. This refers to the office of an architect and superintendent controlling expenditures for the royal buildings. (See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1874-1875. p. 173.

For a better understanding and more convenient comparison, we shall arrange as follows our description of the architects of this period.

- a. The architects apparently employed in the erection of the galleries of the Louvre and the Tuileries.
- b. The remaining architects of that period.
- c. Salomon de Brosse and his place in French architecture; the particular importance of this master requires us to make him prominent in this way, to be able to correctly describe his relations to the other masters of the first group.

a. Architects apparently employed on the building of the Louvre galleries and of the Tuileries under Henry IV.

374. Etienne du Perac.

1. Etienne du Perac, architect, painter, archaeologist, a copper engraver and landscape artist, died in 1601 at Paris as one of the architects of Henry IV. He was likewise born in the same city before 1544, since we already find him in 1564 as a copper engraver in Rome. The earliest information of him comes from three engravings after Michelangelo's model of the Church S. Peter, that he engraved in 1564, the year in which the latter died;⁵⁸⁰ these show him to be already a perfect master of the forms of Italian architecture. This intimate knowledge of Church of S. Peter may be of interest in deciding on his part in the erection of the Louvre.

Note 580. Plan, section and side facade. The dome is less slender than in the wooden model in Rome and as executed, approximating to the hemispherical form. It must therefore represent the first model of Michelangelo, and have served as a model for the dome of Val-de-Grace at Paris. This has led some French architects to the erroneous belief, that the present lines of the dome of S. Peter's are not by Michelangelo, but by Giacomo della Porta.

In the year 1573, Du Perac engraved a large plate of Villa

d'Este and its garden in Tivoli, dedicated to Catherine de M Medici.⁵⁸¹

Note 581. See *Il Santuouisso et Amenisso. Palazzo et Giardini. Di Tivoli. Alla --- Regina Caterina Di Medici --- Roma. --- 1573 --- Stefano Duperac---*. Reprint by Calcoğrafia Camerali in Rome).

According to Destailleur, he engraved much for the well known Lafreri, and he published in 1575 in Rome a series with views of the ruins of antique buildings.⁵⁸² Du Perac studied these monuments not merely from a picturesque standpoint, but as an architect, indeed as a master very severe for that period, who endeavored in his reproductions to avoid his own caprices and to proceed with archaeological accuracy. This is apparent from his drawings.

Note 582. See Italian quotation in original text.

In the National Library at Paris⁵⁸³ and in the Louvre are two copies of the same volume of the original drawings of Du Perac. The latter drawings are much better than those in the Library; hence they may perhaps be merely old copies or reproductions.

Note 583. Department des Manuscrits. Fonds Français. No. 382. Small folio. The title is "Illustration des Fragments antique etc., appartenant to the religion and ceremonies of the ancient Romans. Drawn and collected from antique marbles now in Rome and in other places in Italy, with explanations by Estienne du Perac, Parisian. Book first, containing several figures of idols, obelisks, and of hieroglyphic letters of the ancient Egyptians. Book second, containing several temples, gods, attars and sacrifices, collected from antique marbles to be seen in Rome and in other places in Italy.

Yet Du Perac was not satisfied in pursuing merely theoretical studies in Rome; we see him likewise busied as a practical architect, especially on occasions of festivals. Müntz has proved, that he appeared on May 8, 1572, with Bartolomes Gaitto as architect of the Conclave.⁵⁸⁴

Note 584. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1877. p. 143. -- Dominis Bartholomeo Gaitto et Stephano Perac, architectis fabricarum conclavis, per nos deputatis -- Datum Rome, in Cam. ap., die octava Maii, 1572.

Du Perac lived in Italy at least 18 years; for according to

the likewise correct statement of the royal court gardener C Claude Mollet, he returned from Italy only in 1582. Mollet designates him as the grand architect of the king. The duke d'Aumale, belonging to the party of the League, took him into his service, placed him over all his chateaus, especially over Chateau Anet, "then the finest in France". He taught Claude Mollet how beautiful gardens should be made, and in 1595, the gardens of the new royal Chateau of S. Germain were executed by Claude Mollet after the drawings of Du Perac;⁵⁸⁵ Figs. 133, 234 and 245, illustrate the latter.

Note 585. See Mollet (Claude). *Theatre des Plantes* etc. Paris. 1652. (Lance. Vol. 2. p. 144).

The intimate and united art, since the splendid terraced designs of the new Chateau of S. Germain are connected with its projecting wings and detached pavilions (Fig. 234), leave no doubt, that the chateau and gardens were designed by the same master. Since the statement of Mollet concerning the designer of the gardens permits not the slightest doubt, then must Du Perac and not Guillaume Merchant be accepted as the architect of the new chateau. The purely Italian character of these terraced designs, which recall in spirit those of Villa d'Este engraved by Du Perac, is a proof of the statement of Mollet. This likewise permits emphasis to be laid on the designation of "grand architect of the king", which Mollet applies to Du Perac. If we combine this with what we know of his work in Rome and at the Vatican, of his relations to the high nobility in Italy and France, then must Du Perac appear as the best trained and most eminent architect of the period from the time of Baptiste Du Cerceau's death (1590) until his own (1601). The previously mentioned words of complaint by the duke of Mayenne in 1590 concerning the lack of competent architects after the death of Baptiste Du Cerceau further strengthens our assumption of the importance enjoyed by Du Perac.

Since but one month after the entry of Henry IV into Paris (Mar. 22, 1594), Guillaume Marchant began the building of the garden terraces of S. Germain as contractor, then must Du Perac, already somewhat before the entry, have succeeded to his important position about the king, and have worked out t

the new designs for the extension of the chateau.

The part in the building of the Louvre and of the Tuileries ascribed to Du Perac will be considered on the occasion of the descriptions of those buildings.

375. Jacques II Du Cerceau.

b. Jacques Androuet II Du Cerceau (buried on Sept. 16 or 17, 1614) was a son of the famous Jacques I (see Arts. 159 to 162), and probably was the younger brother of Baptiste, who must be regarded from 1578 to 1590 as the most prominent architect of the kings Henry III and Henry IV. (See Arts. 206, 207).

1577. It is thought, that he must be recognized in Jacques Androuet, who was one of the secretaries of the duke of Anjou.

1577. He or his father received 200 livres yearly in connection with the building of the Chateau of Charleval. (See Art. 160).

1594., Oct. 19. Du Cerceau was already mentioned as royal architect with an annual salary of 800 crowns (= 1600 livres), 400 crown being for the work on the Louvre and 400 for other buildings. At this time Louis Metezeau held a similar position beside him. (See Art. 377).

1597, Jal found mention of him.

1597, May 23. In a power of attorney, he designates himself as "nobleman Jacques Androuet, lord Du Cerceau, architect of the king". 586

Note 586. According to an obliging communication from M. Baron Pichon, Paris.

1598. Du Cerceau was paid for the drawings of the chateau, the gardens, and the city of Pau, made at the order of the king. 587

Note 587. See Archives Departmentales des Basses-Pyrenees. Comptes du Bearn. 1598. Series B. Given in Lance. Vol. 1. p. 22. -- Lance believes that this refers to Baptiste Du Cerceau, the year of whose death in 1590 not being then known.

1598, Aug. 15 to 18. Coming from Pau, he made at the order of "Madame" (Catherine de Navarre ?) drawings of the Chateau, garden, park and of the "warren" of Nerac, and on this occasion, he was designated as M. de Serceau, architect of the king, in the Chronicle of Isaac de Peres. 588

Note 588. See Lance etc..

1602, May 23. He purchased the house of his brother Baptis-

Baptiste at Paris from his widow, and he is designated in the deed as "Comptroller and Architect of the King's Buildings.

1606-1609. Jal finds him among the pensioners of the king with the salary of 1200 livres and the appellation of Sieur Du Cerceau, architect of the king. --1608. To the brothers Du Serceau (sic) and Fournier, other architects of his majesty for their wages at 1200 francs each.⁵⁸⁹ (See Art. 378).

Note 589. See *Etat des Officiers de l'annee 1608* in Berty, A. *Topographie historique de Vieux Paris* etc. continued by H. Legrand. Paris. 1886-1889. Vol. 2. p. 204.

1614, Sept. 17. Du Cerceau was buried. On the burial certificate of that date, he is called Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, architect of the king's buildings, being of the true religion.

Since from the lack of documents, the smallest statement concerning these masters is of interest for the very confused history of the building of the Louvre, we add the following data, which afford information relating to the position of the master.

On the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Marie (April 18, 1627), the register of Charenton designates her as "daughter of the deceased Jacques Androuet, while living Sieur Du Cerceau, architect and superintendent of the king's buildings.

At his marriage (Jan. 18, 1658), his son Gaspard was termed "son of Jacques Androuet, while living Sieur du cerceau, architect and intendant of the royal buildings.

Jacques II might have been already 40 or 45 years old, when he married. This could hardly have occurred before 1600, since his wife Marie Malapert was only born in 1583. Two years after the death of Jacques (1616), she married again. Salomon de Brosse, nephew of her husband and second guardian of his children, was godfather of his son, born in 1617. The second godfather was Chr. Justel, the councillor and secretary of the duke de Bouillon, for whom salamon built a mansion; he also approved the marriage.

From the following statement it appears, that Salamon de Brosse, nephew of Du Cerceau, partly took the place of his uncle, since a portion of his salary passed to him after his uncle's death.

"To Salamon de Brosse, architect, both for his former wages and for increase by the decease of his uncle, the late Sieur Du Cerceau, and without any deduction, considering his merit and the actual ordinary service rendered by him to his said majesty, the sum of 2250 livers". 590

Note 590. From the list of royal masters for 1624. See Archives de l'Art françois. Series 2. Vol. 2. p. 339.

Ought one to draw the conclusion from this statement made in the royal accounts 10 years after Du Cerceau's death, that his memory was held in especially high honor? Meanwhile it appears more correct to me, to see in this merely an annually repeated copy of the preceding statement intended to keep in remembrance, that the salary of Salomon de Brosse came from the moneys provided for the various buildings.

The Hotel de Bellegarde, formerly Conde, was built after 1612 by Du Cerceau. 591

Note 591. See Force, Piganiol de la. Description de Paris et de ses Environs. Paris. 1742. Vol. 3. p. 248 et seq.

His work on the Chateaus of Monceaux-en-Brie and of Verneuil-sur-Oise will be mentioned on the occasion of the consideration of the building of the Louvre, and of the position of Du Cerceau with regard to that of Louis Metezeau.

From the lack of existing works, one can obtain no correct conception of the value of this famous master to his time.

376. Thibaut Metezeau.

c. Thibaut or Theobald Metezau (born Oct. 21, 1533, and already deceased in Sept., 1596) appears to have lived in Dreux until 1569, like his brother Clement I and his brother Jean. 592.

Note 592. Clement I Metezeau the elder, died between 1537 and 1556, master mason in Dreux.

1516. Clement with Jean de Moulins undertook the completion of the Hotel-de-Ville, begun in 1512 by Pierre Caron. In 1533, he is mentioned with 7 sols and 6 den. as wages for 1 1/2 days; he was probably employed on the rich portal of the parish church, which was erected about 1524. Clement I had two sons:-- Thibaut or Theobald and Jean, the latter dying in 1600 in Dreux.

1557, Nov. 13. His first marriage was made known; 1560, he was already married to another wife.

He was both architect and building speculator, and he was the contractor for Bridge Pont Neuf at Paris, begun in 1578.

1576, he belonged as architect to the house of the duke de Alencon.

1578, Mar. 25. He had the title of architect of the king, and received from Henry III a gift of 200 crowns.

1582. Like Pierre Chambiges, he competed as contractor for the work of the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis.

According to Saval, Thibaut must have erected the outer gate of Porte S. Antoine at Paris with the date of 1585. Yet Lance remarks, that the latter was already commenced under H Henry II and was furnished with reliefs by Jean Goujon, now in the Museum of Cluny at Paris. Therefore it could not have been designed by Thibaut. 593

Note 593. See the notices of Metezeau in Berty, A. Les Grands Architectes Francois. Paris. 1860. -- Also in Lance.

For the alleged participation of Thibaut in the building of the Louvre, see that building.

377. Louis Metezeau.

d. Louis Metezeau, born after 1557, buried Aug. 19, 1615, was a son of Thibaut, probably the eldest.

1594, Oct. 19. Metezeau was appointed by the king and entrusted with the supervision of various royal buildings, with a salary of 800 crowns (= 1600 livres); 400 crowns for his work at the Louvre and 400 for work elsewhere. He was placed entirely on the same footing and rank, which Du Cerceau then had (Jacques II). 594

Note 594. "Clerk and deputy to have charge and control of the construction of all the royal buildings mentioned in the said letters, and for the said charges to enjoy and use the same authorized honors, state and maintenance of 800 crowns per year, that is 400 crowns for the buildings of the Louvre and 400 crowns for the other buildings, entirely and in the same form and manner as that enjoyed by the said Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau". See Lance. Art. Metezeau.

1596, Sept. 27. Metezeau was godfather in Dreux and called himself "architect of the king and comptroller of royal buildings". 595

Note 595. See Berty. p. 125.

1598, Aug. 28. He married Isabel de Hanguail. (According to others, she was named Isabel de Audegner).

1608. Louis de Metezeau ⁵⁹⁶ had as architect a salary of 2000 livres and 400 as concierge of the Tuileries.

Note 596. To Metezeau (Loye), architect of the king, concierge of the Palace of the Tuileries, and having the care of the furniture there, for his wages the sum of 2400 livres, that is, 2000 for the said charge as architect and 400 for the charge as concierge and care of the said furniture, thus 2400 livres. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1872. p. 40.

1609, Mar. 23. He subscribed himself as architect of the king's buildings, concierge and keeper of furniture of the Palace of the Tuileries.

1610, with Francini, he had charge of the preparations for the entry of the queen.

1615, birth of his last child, baptized July 17.

1615, Aug. 19. He was designated in his burial certificate as "Nobleman M. Metezeau, first architect of the king and concierge of his Chateau of the Tuileries.

1615, Sept. 1. A pension was assigned to his widow and children. ⁵⁹⁷

Note 597. For his children Louis, Elisabeth and Wilhelm(?) was allotted a joint pension of 400 livres for life. Wilhelm in 1667 was engineer in ordinary to Louis XIV. (see Berty, p. 128). In his previously mentioned *Typographie historique du Vieux Paris* (Vol. 2. p. 209), Berty gives a pension of 600 l livres for widow and children.

1615, Sept. 25. Clement II Metezeau, brother of Louis, was taken into the service of the king with a salary of 800 livres. ⁵⁹⁸

Note 598. See Berty. Vol. 2. p. 208.

The two last measures in favor of his relatives, following the death of Metezeau so quickly, appear to prove that his works were very satisfactory up to the end.

Since none of his works are preserved, we can make no decision concerning his talent. His relations to J. Du Cerceau and his part in the building of the Louvre will be mentioned under the latter.

378. Fournier.

e. Among the royal architects in 1608 was one Fourrier, who is mentioned at the same time as Du Cerceau and with the same salary. "To Sieurs Du Serceau (sic) and Fournier, o other architects of his majesty, for their salaries at 1200 livres each.⁵⁹⁹

Note 599. *Etat des Officiers de l'annee 1608* in Berty, A. *Topographie historique du Vieux Paris etc.* paris. 1866-1869. Vol. 2. p. 204.

Berty knows of two other architects of this name, one with the name of Isaie, the other of Louis; he is of opining, that all three indeed mean the same person. Lance⁶⁰⁰ has collected the following data of the Fourniers without being able to solve the problem.

Note 600. Berty, same work.

The copper engraver and architect, Isaie Fournier, is one of the masters that participated about 1600 in building the second half of the great gallery of the Louvre. It is believed that with Jean Coin, he built the former upper story of the small gallery of the Louvre. Some have conjectured, that he might be identical with Louis Fournier, who was compelled to pull down a house near the Chatelet during the siege of Paris, was in 1607 sworn of the king in the office of masonry, was arbitrator together with Pierre Chambiges on July 3 in P Paris, and was employed there as expert in 1614 and 1615. (See in the following the building of the Louvre, especially the construction of the grand gallery.).

379. Pierre I Biard.

f. Pierre I Biard (born about 1559, died Sept. 17, 1609) presents the peculiarity, that the first mention of him falls in the time of the League and of the siege of Paris by Henry IV and raises questions, that cast a peculiar light on that period. On Sept. 18, 1590, he was nominated in place of Baptiste Androuet Du Cerceau to the "office of architect and superintendent comptroller of the expenses of the buildings of the king -- now vacant by his decease". The appointment came through Charles de Lorraine, duke de Mayenne, the head of the League in Paris. The salary amounted to 500 crowns a annually. The chamber of accounts at first refused to regis-

register this appointment. They first did so on Oct. 7, 1592.

It has been asked, how Mayenne came to now first appoint a successor of Baptiste Du Cerceau ?(See Art. 207). Had he remained in Paris with the League, although a zealous Huguenot and first architect of the king, or did the chief of the League respect the earlier appointments, although Baptiste was perhaps absent from Paris after 1585? We are unable to give any explanation of this.

On Aug. 26, 1597, Pierre Biard, architect and sculptor dwelling in the city of Paris in the parish of S. Paul, Rue de la Sarisage near the "Archenac de Pouldres", but at the time being in Chateau Preypaulin near Bordeaux, bound himself to execute the Tomb of Francis de Foix et de Cadillac for the Augustine Monastery at Bordeaux, and on Sept. 3, 1597, that of Marguerite de Foix de Candalle for the Church of S. Blaise at Cadillac. 601.

Note 601. See Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais. Series 3. Vol. 1. (1884-1885). p. 177.

Biard cannot have been a pupil of Michelangelo. According to the inscription on his tomb, he was only 5 years old, when the latter died. He executed the relief of Henry on horseback, which was over the doorway of the Paris Hotel-de-Ville.

The rood screen of S. Etienne du Mont at Paris was the work of Pierre I Board, accordaing to Saural. In June, 1604, he was paid for sculptures, which he had executed on the doorway of the little gallery of the Louvre at its western side, and which was built up after Louis XIV.

It does not appear from these statements, whether Biard's appointment was confirmed after the entry of the king into P Paris. It rather seems that this was not the case, since in the contracts of 1597 is no mention of a royal office. The inscription on his tomb likewise appears to show that he was undeceived. 602

Note 602. "Here lies Pierre Biard, while living master sculptor and architect, who passed away at the age of 50 years on Sept. 17, 1609. -- Beneath this is a poem, which ends in the following manner:--

"After seeing Rome, I returned to Paris,
To make my fortune by my work;
But his ingratitude weakened my courage.

All comes to ignorant, nothing to divine men".

See Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français. 1874. p. 170.

380. Pierre Biard.II.

g. Pierre II Biard.was son of Pierre I. In the list of the artists of the household of the king, pierre II Biard is mentioned among the sculptors from 1598 to 1611. In the years 1598 and 1599, he had a salary of only 10 livres and in the year 1611 one of 30 livres.

It is said of Pierre II Biard in 1618; "sculptor, who formerly served under Sieur Frangueville, sculptor, after which he was in Italy to continue his studies and to render himself capable of serving his majesty in sculpture --- 500 livres yearly.

1625, like most others, he received only half his salary. (250 livres).

1656 (?). His salary amounted to 400 livres, of which he received but 200 livres. 603

Note 603. See Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français. 1872. p. 11, 68.

381. Pierre II Chambiges.

h. Pierre II Chambiges or Chambiche (born before 1544 (?), still living in 1613, was probably the son of Pierre I. (See Art. 126). The statement of Sauval, that Chambiche worked on the little gallery of the Louvre about 1566, will be examined on the occasion of the description of the latter.

1568, May 27, he was godfather of a child of Jean Bullant at Ecouen.

1575, he was designated as Pierre Sambiche, carpenter etc. 604

Note 604. Berty. p. 145.

1582, Mar. 14, he obtained as contractor the execution of work on the Mausoleum of the Valois at S. Denis.

1599 (in May) and 1602 (in Feb), he is found as "sworn of the king in the office of masonry", with his colleagues François Petit, entrusted with the inspection of work on Porte S. Germain at Paris.

In the year 1602, we see him as arbitrator and in 1608 as expert in affairs of the city of Paris, in reference to a cornice on the Hotel-de-Ville; he took part in the estimate of cost for the Pavillion du Saint-Esprit on the latter.

1613, he was yet alive, but not in 1620. Berty ⁶⁰⁵ supposes that he died in 1615. ⁶⁰⁶

605. Berty. *Art. des Chambiges.*

606. In *Dance*, Vol. 1. p. 138, according to Berty is mentioned a Louis Chambiges, who was a sworn mason at Paris on Feb. 23, 1615, perhaps a son of Pierre II.

None of the statements nor employments of Chambiges from 1575-1613 permits or even assumes for a moment, that ten years earlier he had the honor of having been actually the designing architect of the little gallery of the Louvre. If the latter were the case, it must have been in accordance with what was usual for the royal architects, to rise in office and honor, and in 1594, when the works on the Louvre were resumed, to take part and to fill the highest place.

382. Metivier.

i. Antoine Metivier, architect of the royal buildings under Louis XIII, died in 1617 and had Jean Androuet Du Cerceau as successor. The Metivier family, like the Du Cerceau and de Brosse families, dwelt in part in Verneuil-sur-Oise. By the marriage of Salomon de Brosse with Fleurance Metivier, the Metiviers also became more closely allied with the Du Cerceaus.

b. Second Group of Architects.

383. Francini Family.

a. From Henry IV till under Louis XIV, there were at least five architects named Francini (French; Francine), which came from the same Florentine family. As architects, and especially as engineers for the construction of water conduits and fountains, they always occupied a prominent position. Guiffrey ⁶⁰⁷ gives a series of statements concerning them, from which the following may be deduced. For distinctness, we comprise all the Francini in one group. (See Figs. 247, 249, 250).

Note 607. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1872. p. 22-26.

1. Tommaso Francini is the first in the series. He wrote on Feb. 2, 1603, from Paris to the secretary of the grand duke of Tuscany, that he would gladly have gone to Tuscany, but that the king had not granted leave to him. ^{608.}

Note 608. See the same. 1876. p. 229.

Thomas Francini from 1605 was mentioned in S. Germain as engineer, and as having charge of the grottos and dountains of his majesty. After 1618 he was engineer of hydraulic works in all royal buildings; ha had in 1625 a salary of 3000 livres; he was employed in 1646 at S. Germain at only 900 livres for 9 months. We likewise find:--

2. Antoine Francine, his son or younger brother, with 2200 livres salary for 9 months as engineer, intendant of the water supply and fountains of the houses of his majesty.

3. Alexander Francine, fountain constructor, after 1608 fountain engineer, with salary of 720 livres for maintaining all hydraulic works at Fontainebleau. In 1618, he was fountain engineer at S. Germain with 600 livres salary, at the same time with Denis Roux as fountain foreman. In 1636, he was engineer for water supply and fountains in Fontainebleau, where hi is found mentioned in the accounts of 1646-1648 as having a salary of 600 livres.

This Francine published a volume under the following title:-- "Livre d'Architecture etc". = Book of Architecture containing several porticos and different inventions in the five orders of architecture. Paris. 1631. The same also in Latin, -- see Fig. 55. Abraham Bosse engraved several of his works.

We find mentioned in the year 1650 the two sons of Thomas, who were:--

4. Francis Francine, "engraver and intendant of the conduits and water supply and fountains of his majesty's houses". He had a salary of 3000 livres, and we also find him mentioned on a separate account for S. Germain as Francis de Francine with 400 livres salary.

5. Pierre Francine, brother of the preceding, "engineer, for the water supply and ornamental fountains", with a salary of 400 livres yearly. In the year 1662,⁶⁰⁹ the water supply of Versailles was entrusted to him, and he built there the famous grotto of Tithys. (Fig. 250).

Note 609. See Lance. Vol. 1. p. 273.

Under the superintendence of Francine, C. Denis was the first hydraulic architect of Versailles.

384. Franqueville.

b. Pierre de Franqueville or Fhancheville, called Fr-

Francavilla in Italian, was a Flemish architect, painter and sculptor. He was born at Cambrai in 1553, was the first sculptor to Henry IV, and made the model of the equestrian statue of the king on the Pont-Neuf, that Giovanni Bologna and T Tacca executed in Florence. It was the earliest equestrian statue in France. H. Martin is of the opinion that Franqueville, whose best works are found in Genoa, was not sufficiently esteemed in France.

385. Marchand.

c. Guillaume Marchand or Marchant (born about 1531, died Oct. 12, 1605) is one of the masters of that time, of whom recent writers would like to make a great architect. The following is to be said of him.

1590, Sept. 15, Henry IV invested him with the office of "master general of masonry works and of the royal edifices of the city, provostship and viscounty of Paris".

1595, May 17, he received the "right of executing justice on masons, stonecutters, mortar men etc." It has been desired to make him in an erroneous way designing architect of the Pont-Neuf in Paris, instead of Baptiste Du Cerceau, but which he began in 1578 as contractor and may have completed under Henry IV. According to the estimate for the masonry work of cut stone, brick and rubble, lime and sand etc., that he prepared in 1594 for the new Chateau of S. Germain-en-Laye, Lance erroneously holds him to be the architect of that building. From the other offices held by him as well as from the words of Claude Mollet, he must be taken as the contractor for the entire masonry, and Du Perac (Art. 374) as the architect of that chateau. The inscription on Marchand's tomb ⁶¹⁰ and the wording of that estimate for S. Germain contain nothing, that requires more than this interpretation.

Note 610. See Geymüller, H. Les Du Cerceau etc. Paris. 1887.

Louis Marchand, son of the preceding, received in 1596 the assurance of the succession to his father's offices, which he exercised after 1604.

Charles Marchand, brother of Guillaume, one of the architects of the city of Paris, planned with Pierre Guillain the form of the roof of the Hotel-de-Ville at Paris and its roof tower. He executed in 1596 the roof of the first half of the long gallery of the Louvre.

386. Boillot.

d. Joseph Boillot, born at Langres in 1560, engineer to Henry IV, wrote the following work, whose title affords some insight into the ideas of that time:-- "New representations of hermes figures for use in architecture, composed and enriched by divinities and by animals truly represented according to their antipathies and contrarieties". (Langres, N. D.).

387. Chastillon.

e. Claude de Chastillon (1547-1616), after his travels in France, Italy and Switzerland, was frequently employed as military engineer for Henry IV, prepared in 1607 the plans of Hospital S. Louis in Paris, built the former College de France, the Place Dauphine (Fig. 53), and is regarded as architect of Place Royale.

Chastillon left a valuable collection of views of France.

Note 611. *Topographie Francoise*, or representation of several cities, burges, castles, country-houses, ruins and vestiges of antiquity in the realm of France, drawn by Claude Chastillon and others, brought to light by J. Borisseau, illuminator to the king. Paris. 1641.

388. Errard.

f. Jean Errard from Bar-le-Duc, engraver and architect, built the Citadel of Amiens, the Chateau of Sedan, and composed various writings.

From Lance, we add the three following masters.

389. Other Masters.

g. Henry Collin was in 1601 architect of the royal buildings in Fontainebleau, and in 1606 was "sworn master architect of the king in his chateau of Fontainebleau".

h. Jean La Hire or La Hierre executed between 1595 and 1627 different works in Nancy for the duke of Lorraine.

i. Gracieux Jamin built for Henry IV the court of the kitchens in Fontainebleau, completed in 1609.

Palustre ⁶¹³ further mentions the following masters, whose works are added in brackets.

Note 613. See *L'Architecture de la Renaissance*. Paris. 1892. p. 222, 469, 470, 270, 277.

Pierre Souffron (Chateau Gadillac, 1598-1603).

Jean Cheriau (vaults of S. Jean in Joigny, 1596).

Jean Boullon (Rood-screen of S. Florentin in the Department of Yonne).

c. Salomon de Brosse.

390. His particular Importance.

Of all the architects of the age of Henry IV, it is Salomon⁶¹⁴ and not Jacques de Brosse, as erroneously stated for nearly 200 years, who most deserves our attention, indeed both on account of his works, their character and the interest always attracted to them, as well as for the varied and frequently uncertain criticism applied thereto. We have already been frequently in a position to refer to them.(Art. 280).

Note 614. The official accounts of the royal buildings from 1615 to 1624, also the Abbe de Marolles (in Catalogue des Livres, d'Estampes etc., 1666) call him Salomon. He is so named on the engravings of Marot. Mariette in his Abecedario calls attention to those, who call him Jacques. Sauval names him first Jacques and then Salomon. Most writers from 1640 until the present day make the error of calling him Jacques. The mistake was even perpetuated by the street named after him in Paris, until it was corrected at Read's request. (Read, Ch. Salomon de Brosse, l'architecte de Henry IV et de Marie de Medicis. Reprint from Memoires de la Societe Nationale des Antiquaires de France. Vol. 41.(1881). p. 13.

391. Course of his Life.

The endeavors of Charles Read succeeded in gradually throwing new light on this master.⁶¹⁵ His larger monograph upon him has unfortunately never appeared;⁶¹⁶ but on the other hand, Read had the great kindness to entrust to me for six years all his notes for that monograph, and to permit their use.

Note 615. Read has obtained from the registers of baptism, marriage and burial, of the old Reformed Church of Paris, discovered by him in 1855, a multitude of valuable and assured notices of the artists of that time. But before these registers could be entirely utilized by Read, Count Jules Delaborde and others, they were burned in the palace of Justice during the Commune in 1871.

Note 616. Berty, Lancel and the Archives de l'Art Francais, since 1860 continually refer to the work on Salomon de Brosse prepared by Read. Of this only the following three studies

have appeared:-- a. In France protestante, 2 d edition, Vol. 3. Fasc. 5. (Paris. 1881); b. Salomon de Brosse, l'Architecte de Henri IV et de Marie de Medicis in Memoires de la Societe Nationale des Antiquaries de France. Vol. 41. (1881); c. Les de Brosse et les Du Cerceau, architectes parisiennes in Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Isle de France, 9 th year (1882). p. 148.

Under such circumstances, I hold it proper to give all chronological facts in order, which we know concerning this master and his father. Even such as refer merely to family events, like baptism, marriage etc., permit decisive conclusions to be made in reference to the sojourns of the master and therewith to the origins of the buildings. By the alliance of Salomon with the architectural families of Du Cerceau and Metevier, and by his intimate relations with Du Ry (Art. 160), this data may be useful for future investigators.

392. Jehan Brosse.

1568, June 25, Jehan Brosse, master architect, dwelling at Verneuil-sur-Oise, purchased in that city the piece of ground called Mont-la-Ville, bordered on one side by Rue Macart, on the other by Rue Grand.

1578, Jehan de Brosse (sic) was architect and secretary of that lady (queen Margaret, first wife of Henry IV).

1579, Jehan de la Brosse also held the same position near queen Margaret.

393. Salomon de Brosse.

Salomon de Brosse was born between 1552 and 1562 and was buried on Dec. 26, 1626.

1582, he is mentioned in the registers of Verneuil-sur-Oise as being married.

1588, Nov. 9, Salomon de Brosse and his wife were god-parents in Verneuil.

1593, May 3, Salomon was in Verneuil until this date.

1606, erection of the first Temple at Charenton (perhaps by Salomon).

1607, Salomon wrote his name in a portfolio of drawings, w which later belonged to his assisstant architect Du Ry.

1611, Oct. 6, Maria de medici requested from the grand duke of Tuscany the plans of Palace Pitti at Florence as a basis

for those of Palace Luxemburg, then being built.

1612, Oct. 27, the erection of the Aqueduct at Arcueil after Salomon's design was awarded to Jehan Going by contract.

1613, Feb. 12 to June 28, de Brosse executed various receipts as architect of Hotel de Bouillon, afterwards Hotel de Liancourt, in Rue de Seine at Paris. De Brosse dwelt in Rue des "Vielz-Augustins" at Paris.⁶¹⁷

Note 617. See Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoire de Paris. 1881. p. 103.

1613. Beginning of the design of Luxemburg garden in Paris.

1613, Mar. 20. Beginning of the erection of Chateau at Coulemmiers. De Brosse and other masters determined the form of the structure.

1613, July 17. Laying cornerstone of Aqueduct at Arcueil.

1614. Apparently the beginning of Chateau Blerencourt.

1615. Foundation of Palace Luxemburg commenced.

1615-1617. De Brosse had charge of different works for Maria de Medici at the Chateau at Monceaux-en-Brie.⁶¹⁸

Note 618. In the years 1615-1617, Salomon de Brosse, general architect of the buildings of the King and of the said lady queen, had various works executed in the Chateau of Monceaux-en-Brie; in the year 1615, orders for payment in the place of the general and responsible treasurer, M. Florent d'Argeuges.

1616, he was designated as nobleman Salomon de Brosse, architect of the king, possessor of the fief of S. Quentin at Verneuil, at the place called Montaville.

1616, July 14. Laying cornerstone of the facade of S. Gervais at Paris.

1616. Building of Palace Luxemburg commenced.

The following notice occurs in the year 1616:-- Salomon de Brosse, architect general of the buildings of the king and of the queen, mother of his majesty, the sum of 300 livres for the salary assigned to and belonging to the said charge.

1617, Feb. 6. Salomon was the second guardian of the children of Jacques Du Gerceau II, his uncle.

1617, his son Paul was already married to Anna Bourree.(?).

1617, April 19. Laying cornerstone of the Capuchin Church of Coulommiers by Catherine de Gonzaga.

1618, Salomon traveled in April to Rennes in order to prepare the plans for the Palace of the Parliament of Brittany.

1618, Mar. 7. Burning of the great hall of Palace of Justice at Paris.

1618, Aug. 23, were paid the expenses of de Brosse in the Inn a la Harpe at Rennes.

1619, the Mercure Francais described the new hall just begun as "entirely vaulted, with square pillars, and the most beautiful that could be".

1619. New edition of Jean Bullant's "Regle Generale d'Architecture etc. (Art. 145), revised and corrected by M. de Brosse, Architect of the king".

Already before 1619, Salomon's son, Paul de Brosse, was one of the architects of the king. In 1624, he had an annual salary of 800 livres.

1619, Jan. 11, the executive architect of the Parliament Building at Rennes traveled to Paris in order to consult de Brosse, and he remained there six weeks before his return.

1619, July 18, Salomon was designated as Sieur du Plessis in the marriage contract of his daughter, from the fief of Plessis-Pomeraye near Verneuil-sur-Oise in the direction of Senlis.

1619 or 1620, occurred a journey of de Brosse to Orleans.

1620, June, de Brosse sent from Paris written directions for the Palace at Rennes.

1621, the facade of S. Gervais at Paris was completed.

1621, burning of the Temple at Charenton.

1620 or 1621, Palace Luxemburg was so far completed, that Rubens was considered in reference to the painting of the galleries.

1622, Nov. 12, Mass was already read in the chapel of the great hall of Palace of Justice, although in 1623 the work thereon was not entirely finished.

1623, June 16, the contractor Noretz and the deputies Marbault and Hureau signed the plans to be executed for the new Temple at Charenton.

1623, Salomon made a drawing of Pope Gregory XV.

1624. Completion of Aqueduct of Arcueil.

1625, July 13. Consecration of Church of Capuchins of Coulommiers.

1626, Dec. 9. Salomon was buried in the gemetery des Saints=Peres at Paris. He is there designated as "Salomon de Brosse, engineer and architect of the buildings of the king, born at Verneuil", and on the duplicate of the certificate, as "architect of the queen mother".

1632, May 20, his wife, Fleurance Mestivier, was still living; she is stated to have died on March 17, 1634.

394. Relations with other Architects.

It appears from various passages in the fragments of the c contracts and accounts of that time, that the bonds of relationship and of friendship, which existed between the families of architects, of de Brosse, Du Cerceau, Metivier and Du Ry, frequently exerted a determining influence upon the appointment of the masters and upon the origin of certain buildings. It is therefore doubly important to determine these relations as accurately as possible.

395. Relations with the Du Cerceaus.

Only first about 1880 were discovered the relations and latter the alliance between the families of de Brosse and Du Cerceau. For a long time, the exact degree of these was uncertain. We have already spoken of them in Art. 121, but must now offer proofs of our assumption.

Flammermont conjectures, that Jean Brosse might have been a pupil of the famous Androuet, whose sister he married.⁶¹⁹ When Read writes, "that by his mother, Julienne Androuet, Salomon de Brosse was nephew of Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau", he evidently accepts this relationship, while he doubtless thinks of Jacques I under the latter name. On the basis of these statements, we likewise accepted this connection. Yet when later we saw that in the royal accounts, Jacques II Du Cerceau was designated as the uncle of Salomon de Brosse, we were compelled to ask ourselves, whether their statements were to be taken verbally, and whether Jehan Brosse actually married the daughter and not the sister of Jacques I Du Cerceau. This degree of relationship is therefore of great importance, since it can throw decisive light on the authorship of the so interesting Chateau of Verneuil-sur-Oise (Art. 160). Palustre believes that in Jehan de Brosse is seen the master of the Chateau, while we ascribe the original design to Du Cerceau.

In the conditions described by us,⁶²⁰ the question must first be rightly decided in favor of Du Cerceau, if Brosse was his son-in-law and not his brother-in-law.

Note 619. See Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile de France, year 9, Part 5 (1882), p. 145-151.-- L. M. Tisserand and Charles Read correct some errors of H. G. Guiffrey there. Part 4.

Note 620. See Les Du Cerceau. p. 82.

Neither Flammermont and Guiffrey nor Read give the texts on which their assumption is based. Therefore I had recourse to M. Gustave Macon, Archivist of Duc. d'Aumale in Chantilly, in order to obtain if possible the text on which Flammermont relied. It resulted that the passages in question, which I give here, afford no conclusions of any kind concerning the degree of relationship of Julienne Androuet with Jacques I Du Cerceau.⁶²¹

Note 621. Macon examined the entire series of "Verneuil" and copied for me all passages referring to Du Cerceau and de Brosse. I here express my most courteous thanks to him for this great kindness. The passage referred to states:-- "Julienne Androuet, widow of the late Jehan Brosse, architect while living, dwelling at Verneuil-sur-Oise, in her own name and as instructor and guardian of the children of the said deceased and of herself, has said and declared, that she intends to hold --- a house, chambers, granges, stables, gardens and a suitable place, located at Verneuil before the cross of Amount --- the city --- (and 5 pieces of land." Terrier (local survey) of Verneuil, declaration of Sept. 12, 1585".

It fortunately became possible by means of a document supplied to me by Baron Pichon in Paris, for me to be able to deduce a more certain conclusion on this point. This is a power of attorney subscribed by Jacques II Du Cerceau on May 23, 1597, in his own name and those of four women,⁶²² as joint heirs of a house, that his father Jacques I purchased in Montargis. Among these is first mentioned Julienne Androuet, widow of master Jehan Brosse in Verneuil. It is not understood that Julienne, who at latest was already married in Verneuil in 1561, and had settled there, if she were merely the sister of Jacques I, how she could be with her children joint

heiress of a house, that Jacques presumably only purchased somewhat later in Montargis. But if Julienne was a daughter of Jacques I, this inheritance appears entirely natural. Moreover those executing the power of attorney are designated as joint heirs of the estate left by the blessed master Jacques Androuet, "their father". This determines with certainty, that Julienne was the daughter of Jacques I and the sister of Jacques II. Therefore the statement of the royal accounts is literally correct, that the latter was the uncle of Salomon de Brosse.

Note 622. 1. Nobleman Jacques Androuet, architect of the king, Sieur Du Cerceau for himself and as possessor of the rights ceded by the good woman Julienne Androuet, widow of the deceased M. Jehan Brosse, while alive architect living at Verneuil.

2. Dame Marguerite de Reñidorf, widow of the deceased nobleman M. Baptiste Androuet Du Cerceau, also while alive architect of the king, in the name of and jointly with the mother and guardian of the minor children of the said deceased and of herself.

3. Constance Androuet, widow of the deceased M. Robert Mayoul, while alive provost of Mouy and dwelling in Rue S. Thomas du Louvre.

Giving authority to appear in their names before the provost of Montargis in the cause in which M. Georges of Amiens for --- in the bailiwick of Gien and Elisabeth Androuet, his wife, are sued and summoned at the request of Erme Bailly and his wife, as occupants in part of a house located in Rue des Juifs in the said city of Montargis, and belonging to the said constituents, the wife of the said d'Asnieres and the other coheirs to the estate of the late M. Jacques Androuet, their father, which the said Pierre and Etienne Strumetz and Bailly charge with being subject to 10 s. T. of rent and several years of arrears, demanded from them --- the said power of attorney --- to summon the heirs of the deceased G. de Fert, having sold to the said deceased Androuet that house subject to the rents.

The meaning of these statements was first communicated by Guiffrey.⁶²³ We quote him here from the copy made for us by

the courtesy of one of the archivists, Vicomte Delaborde.⁶²⁴ Concerning the consequence and the important part played by de Brosse, these statements are of especial importance.

Note 623. In Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais. 1872. p. 1 et seq.

Note 624. Archives Nationales. Register formerly numbered O 10632, now O 1 # 2387. -- The register contains a series of salary lists of the officials of the palaces of the Louvre, Tuileries, Vincennes, Fontainebleau etc., from 1605-1656.

Salomon de Brosse occurs in the years 1618 and 1625 in the following form:--

Folio 15 r, year 1618. Officers who have salaries for serving in all the residences and buildings of his majesty.

To Salomon de Brosse, architect, both for his former salary and for increase by the death of the late Sieur Du Cerceau, his uncle, the sum of (2400) IIIMIIIIII livres.

Folio 26 r, year 1625. The same statement verbatim with the following additions:-- ---- his uncle and without any discount in view of his merit and the actual and ordinary service rendered to his majesty, the sum of (2400) IIIMIIIIII livres.

Guiffrey makes prominent the fact, that in 1625, when on a account of the bad times the salaries of all royal masters were reduced about one-half, that of Salomon de Brosse was paid in full, "without any deduction whatever, in consideration of the actual and regular service performed for his majesty". Berty has already proved, that this reduction of the salaries of the other artists already occurred in 1624.⁶²⁵

Note 625. Berty, A. Topographie Historique de Vieux Paris etc. Continued by H. Legrand. Paris. 1866-1868. Vol. 2. p. 204, 218. Based on a register in the Sorbonne.

396. Du Cerceau as Architect of Chateau at Verneuil.

Since Salomon de Brosse was already married to Fleurance M Mestivier in 1582, and since further he was himself born there, then his father Jehan Brosse did not first settle there in 1568, as previously assumed, but in 1562 at latest, in case Salomon was already married at 20 years. The marriage of Jehan Brosse to Lulienne Du Cerceau cannot therefore have occurred later than 1561.

By this determination it becomes necessary to place several

years earlier and at latest in 1561, the beginning of the famous Chateau at Verneuil, whose erection can alone explain the lengthened stay of architects in such a village. Since it would be further entirely illogical to assume, that Du Cerceau, who already about 1560 had published numerous works, bore the title of an architect of the king, and also had commissions from the king and his mother, had worked merely as the assistant or representative of his son-in-law, who in the year 1568 was merely "master architect living at Verneuil", it is therefore fixed with certainty by these different circumstances, that Du Cerceau and not his son-in-law Jehan Brosse was the creator of the Chateau of Verneuil.

This final correction is not only of especial importance for the determination of the personality of the elder Du Cerceau and his role; it permits the further relations of the families of Du Cerceau and de Brosse to be better estimated, and the origin of certain elements of chateau architecture to be more accurately recognized.

397. Relations to Metivier and Dy Ry.

Read assumes that Salomon's wife, Fleurance Mestivier, was the sister of the royal architect Antoine Mestivier, whose successor was Jean Androuet Du Cerceau on Sept. 30, 1617. (Art. 382).

On the buildings at Coulommiers and Monceaux, to be described later, we shall see employed for Salomon de Brosse another architect and countryman from Verneuil,⁶²⁶ namely Charles Du Ry, the father of a well known family of architects. Read believes that in him is seen a pupil and friend of Salomon. Might he have likewise been the son-in-law, who accompanied him to Rennes in 1618?

Note 626. According to some, Charles Du Ry was from Argentan. Read says that the name of Du Ry frequently occurs in the registers of Verneuil.

Close relations of Du Ry with de Brosse appear to be established by the following.

By means of the architect Henri Labrousse, Read came to see a volume of original drawings by de Brosse, in which were the following notes.

"This book belongs to Charles Du Ry, architect of the build-

buildings of the king, working for Madame the duchess de Longueville at her Chateau of Coulommiers-en-Brie, in the year 1613 in which the said Chateau was commenced".

An earlier not calls him ---- "Charles Du Ry dwelling at Verneuil-sur-Oise", and an erased note states " I belong to de Brosse, 1607", and then "I belong to Du Ry".

In the already mentioned article in the journal "France Protestante", Read gives a brief list of the drawings on the 49 sheets of this portfolio. Neither Read nor the family of the former possessor could inform me of its whereabouts.

The close relations between these Huguenot architects, for whom Verneuil-sur-Oise had become a second home, we shall see extended further in the third generation between JeanI Du Cerceau and Paul de Brosse, son of Salomon. This intimacy also results from the choice of god-parents, which another architect selected for his children.

398. Training and Studies.

Concerning the architectural training of Salomon, we have no information whatever. Yet since Read justly emphasizes, that both of his two great chateaus, the Palace Luxemburg and the chateau at Coulommiers, recall in some degree the Chateau of Verneuil, this strengthens the natural conjecture, that s Salomon received instruction from his father and his great uncle Du Cerceau.

Just as little do we know whether de Brosse was ever in Italy. By the exclusively Italian-antique tendency of his style in its application to French needs, one might assume a rather long sojourn in Italy. It might have occurred in the period from 1593-1612, when every vestige of the abode of de Brosse is lost. But the contrary is implied, that he was already married in 1582.

On the other hand at that time and in Salomon's circumstances, a sojourn in Italy was not entirely necessary, in order to explain the style, to which he was inclined. He had already been married for two years, when his great uncle Du Cerc-eau published his last work, and was thereby in position to enjoy his instruction for a long time. But the elder Du Cerc-eau knew more than most of us about that last manner of Br-amante, from which he had seen and measured models and drawings.

As his drawings frequently show, he had partially indicated and contributed such a treasure of Italian architectural knowledge from the golden age, that Salomon could have derived from this source everything Italian in his style, in case it had never happened to him to travel in Italy.

399. Relations to the severe Italians.

Besides the ever greater attractive force of that country in that period, a sojourn in Italy would be most probable by reason of a certain relation of the severe style of this Huguenot to the already mentioned severe masters of the counter reformation in upper Italy. (Art. 278).

For a better understanding, we again give the names of these Italians with some of their works in brackets, in which the connection of style most plainly appears:-- Palladio, Domenico Cortoni (Gran Guardia at Verona, 1614), Pellegrino Tibaldi (court of Palace Arceviscovado at Milan, 1570-1598), Fabio Mangoni (Court of Collegio Elvetico at Milan, between 1610 and 1629), and Francesco Ricchini (Court of Palace di Brera at Milan, only after 1651). This relationship of style is at least evidence, that in certain circles in both countries ran a common current of spiritual earnestness. Even in Ammanati is sometimes found, as with the preceding masters, this firm adherence to the severe style of the last manner of Bramante.

More remarkably is it sometimes affirmed, both in reference to Palace Luxemburg as well as the Chateau at Coulommiers,⁶²⁷ that the drawings for both came from Italy.⁶²⁸ This is certainly incorrect, if literally taken. But this kind of transference must either indicate, that de Brosse was in Italy, or for the palace first named, it refers to the Italian elements, which undeniably come from Florence, as we shall see.

Note 627. The Palace Luxemburg and the Chateau of Coulommiers have the same author and the same age, and are two brothers in spite of some differences in expression, but have the same build and the same look, derived from the same original type. Se Dauvergne, A. Notice sur le Chateau neuf et l'Eglise des Capucins des Coulommiers. Paris & Caen. 1853.p.9.

Note 628. Dauvergne says in reference to the Chateau of Coulommiers by de Brosse; -----"that the artist whose glory

dominates the reign of Louis XIII, may have consented to join the suite of some pupil of Bernini, or of Bernini himself, is impossible! Evidently M. de Fleigny and M. Cordier have been led astray by some tradition".

400. Conjectures concerning an earlier Activity.

It is not least astonishing, that we know nothing whatever of the architectural works of such a famous architect until at least his fiftieth year. Read is of the opinion, that after 1593 he may have executed works in Chateau Monceaux-en-Brie for Henry IV and Gabrielle d'Estrees. This would rather be possible, than that the conduct of such works should be ascribed to his uncle Jacques II Du Cerceau, and that de Brosse worked there later for Marie de Medici. Likewise as Read thinks, since he built in 1623 the second Temple at Charenton, he might perhaps have already erected the first one, built in 1606. Finally it is not impossible, that Salomon built the Hotel of queen Margot in Paris, apparently begun in 1606, since in the years 1578 and 1579, the father of Salomon was already her architect and secretary. Since Marie de Medici already busied herself in 1611 with the preparations for the building of her Palace Luxemburg, it is probable rather, that she had already counselled with Salomon thereon. In any case, the erection of an important structure, like the Aqueduct of Arcueil, permits the conjecture of a not unimportant previous architectural activity.

The prominent employment that can be considered in the case of de Brosse, at least during the fourteen last years of his life, led him to a certain compliance and a specially marked position among the royal architects. He had a residence in Palace Luxemburg, which he had built; besides the small and still existing manor house and lands of Mont-la-Ville in Verneuil itself, he possessed in the vicinity the small fief of Plessis-Poumeraye, from which he derived the title of "Sieur de Plessis", that we found in the marriage contract of his daughter Martha, as previously stated in Art. 393.

401. Architectural Works.

The more important works of Salomon will be more fully described later. We here mention only those, for whose introduction no further opportunity is afforded, and only so much as

necessary is said of the former, as to show the style of the master and the position occupied by him.

The Aqueduct of Arcueil near Paris is famous as a structure recalling the works of the Romans, to supply water to the queen's gardens, Palace Luxemburg and the adjacent quarter.

On July 17, 1613, the corner stone of it was laid by the young king. On Oct. 27, 1612, the structure was let by contract to Jehan Coing for 460,000 livres; it was completed in 1624. It is about 1280 ft. long and 79 ft. high. With its 24 arches of about 26.3 ft. span and piers about half as wide, strengthened by buttresses, it makes a very monumental, though rather massive impression. Its semicircular arches, like those in Palace of Justice at Paris, appear broad and of wide span.⁶²⁹

Note 629. Illustrated in Planat, P. *Encyclopedie de l'Architecture*. Paris. 1888-1892. Vol. 1. p. 224.

The Chateau of Monceaux-en-Brie built by Primaticcio is not only ascribed to Jacques II Du Cerceau, but likewise to Salomon de Brosse. (Arts 167 and 375.⁶³⁰).

Note 630. De Brosse also built for the beautiful Gabrielle the Chateau of Monceaux near Meaux; this monument is one of those conferring most honor on that artist. (*Biographie Universelle*).

Charles Dy Ry, designated as a master mason at Paris, worked in 1615 with Sebastian Jacquot, contractor for the masonry of the Jeu de Palme, and Pierre Fourrault, master mason and stonecutter, dwelling at the said Monceaux, under the supervision of Salamon de Brosse on the Chateau of Monceaux. The contractors for covering the roofs and for the joinery are likewise named.

Since only fragments of this chateau are preserved, it is impossible to decide on the extent of the works carried on there by Henry IV (Art. 400) and later by Marie de Medici. Palustre is of the opinion, that the entrance pavilion (Fig. 116) may have originated them; but he was insufficiently instructed concerning this building. The reasons for this view are in nowise convincing. They might apply chiefly to the internal works and the completion of the buildings around the external court and the garden terraces.⁶³¹

Note 631. Register K. K. 193 of Archives Nationales contains accounts of the buildings of the queen mother and of the king from 1614 to 1620 and of fragments for Monceaux. Brosse there occurs as ordinary architect of the queen mother.

The famous Chateau of Blerencourt between Noyon and Laon was begun in 1612 or 1614, and as we shall see, is mentioned as a work of de Brosse. Not less important was the Chateau at Coulommiers (figs. 136, 272).

On March 7, 1613, was burned the famous great hall of Palace of Justice at Paris. De Brosse was entrusted with the rebuilding, which he completed in 1622.

De Brosse was called to Rennes in the year 1618 on account of the Palace of Parliament of Brittany. He traveled there with his son-in-law, whose name is unknown, arriving on Aug. 8 and remaining there until Aug. 22. His plans were accepted. The facade was only completed in 1654, but it was rebuilt by Gabriel after the great fire (1726). Ad. Ramee, who furnished these details to H. Read in 1865, was then substitute for the Procureur General in Rennes, and states that Gabriel made a still existing drawing of the facade by de Brosse.

The facade of Church S. Gervais (1616-1621) was properly the first non-gothic church facade, that was erected in Paris. This fact, together with its actual characteristics as an independent composition, may have contributed to its great and enduring fame.

Salomon's facade of the small Capuchin Church at Coulommiers (Fig. 165) is likewise interesting.

De Brosse erected in 1623 for the Huguenots the famous Temple at Charenton, which will be mentioned later.

According to an oral statement of Destailleur, a thick volume of original drawings by Salomon de Brosse, different from that previously mentioned, might be in Chateau Monjeu (Talleyrand⁶³²) near Autun.

Note 632. Built for the President Janin.

Among the works of Michel Lasne is a large copperplate engraving in memory of Pope Gregory XV with the statement:-- "Designed by Salomon de Brosse, engraved by Micael Avinius". It represents the Pope as sitting on a throne beneath a triumphal arch.

Sauval ⁶³³ praises the rusticated entrance portal of Hotel de Soissons at Paris as one of de Brosse's masterpieces and adds:-- "No one in France has heretofore thought of decorating the paces by portals of such extraordinary and majestic size". Brice ⁶³⁴ ascribes to him a great rusticated portal behind the Church of Grands Augustins in Paris.

Note 633. In *Histoire et Recherches des Antiquites de la Ville de Paris*. Paris. 1724. Vol. 2. p. 216.

Note 634. Brice, G. *Description de Paris*. Paris. 1685. Edit. of 1752. Vol. 2. p. 100.

402. Position of Salomon in Architecture.

The works of Salomon de Brisse have in a certain way the character of an isolated phenomenon in French architecture. Others appear to have felt this without coming to a clear decision concerning their nature and to an understanding of the role of this architect.

From the enthusiasm of two centuries for the facade of S. Gervais, men have passed into another phase, in which it is believed that other researches must be made in architecture. It is the more interesting that nevertheless, as the following judgments show, the works of de Brosse attract attention to these masters.

"The great hall of pas-derdus in Palace of Justice at Paris," Henri Martin writes, "and especially the Aqueduct of Arcueil near Paris, restored after the Romans, show that in any other epoch de Brosse would have been a great architect".

Leon Vaudoyer, one of the most important and also most cultured French architects of this century, justly calls Salomon de Brosse an eminent architect, whose works still cast some glory on French architecture at the time, when it was menaced with an approaching decadence.⁶³⁵ Two years previously, the same Vaudoyer and Albert Lenoir had placed him beside the great French architects of the 16th century.⁶³⁶

Note 635. See "Patria", Col. 2171.

Note 636. As for us, the author of the Temple of Charenton, of the Aqueduct of Arcueil, of Palace Luxemburg, of the Palace of Justice, appears to have his place marked beside Philibert de L'Orme, Pierre Lescot, Jean Bullant, Du Perac and Du Cerceau.

See Lenoir & Vaudoyer. *Etudes d'Architecture en France*.
Magasin Pittoresque. 1845. p. 77.

Lemonnier asks why Salomon de Brosse, who was still rich in knowledge, full of talent, and even capable of grand conceptions, did not occupy a greater place in history? Does he end a style or commence one? Lemonnier is inclined to assume, that Salomon's talent was greater than the part played by him, and that the French school of the 17th century developed little from him.⁶³⁷

Note 637. See *L'Art Français au Temps de Richelieu et de Mazarin*. Paris. 1893. p. 234.

403. Character of the Works of de Brosse.

We will now briefly state the characteristic marks of Salomon's style. The fact that all his works, even those of such diverse character as the Huguenot Temple of Charenton and the facade of S. Gervais at Paris, exclusively show the most decided Antique-Italian tendency of the high Renaissance, is then especially striking. At least in architecture, it indicates an exaggerated sympathy for the antique tendency and the energetic adherence to a style principle.

Another peculiarity of de Brosse is the singular impression of grandeur and power, that he gave to his works, without trying for great dimensions. The peculiarity under our eyes is based on the solution of the scale of the order and on the proportions; it is rare, even in Italy. L. B. Alberti on the facade of S. Francesco at Rimini, and Raphael in the loggia of Villa Madama have impressed on their orders something unusual, like de Brosse on the arcades of the hall of Pas-perdus in P Palace of Justice, and the facade of S. Gervais. Even in Rome, the lattee would be unique in their way. This grandeur is felt on the Aqueduct of Arcueil, and even on Palace Luxemburg, the unified subdivision and treatment of the masses producing this impression in a manner, in spite of the not very high stories.

This touch of the grand in his works is an extremely rare phenomenon in French architecture since the early Gothic. Likewise before de Brosse, a vestige of it is found in the facade of the Tomb Chapel at Anet (Fig. 159), in an unsatisfactory form in the western half of the great gallery of the

Louvre, and in its introduction at Charleval. (Figs. 119, 132).
 638 After de Brosse, this feature also remains so rare, that it attracts attention as somewhat peculiar. On all the works of the great king, it is only found on the Colonnade of the Louvre in 1665, then in 1732 on the facade of S. Sulpice, and something of it on the two palaces on Place de la Concorde at Paris. (1762-1770).

Note 638. Whether this touch likewise existed in Primaticcio's Chateau of Monceaux-en-Brie (Fig. 116), with its great order, cannot be with certainty decided by means of the representations.

The almost crude forms, strongly contrasting with the usual character of French architecture, that de Brosse gave to his works, is likewise remarkable, especially on the facade of S. Gervais. His other works possess, though in a lower degree, something of the character of the "rude" cavalier" of the time of Henry IV, who was still accustomed to the rough life of the camp and had grown up in a fight for an important matter.

There is finally a striking character of severity, earnest and rather cold, in all of Salomon's works, that first occurs with him in French architecture. At Palace Luxemburg in Paris, one feels "a stern Majesty", such as the court of Palace Pitti does not exhibit, and which does not permit inspiration to predominate.

404. Relations with Corneille and Poussin.

The first conclusion presenting itself is, that our master is not quite so isolated, as at first appears to be the case. The more closely Salomon de Brosse is studied, the more his relations with Poussin and Corneille come into the foreground, at least on certain sides. If "austere simplicity and lucid arrangement", as Henri Martin says, be really the chief characteristics of Cinna and of Polyeucte, then is de Brosse an intellectual relative of Corneille. The cold, correct, not unpleasant beauty of certain figures of Poussin, like the figure of Truth, which is exalted in the paintings of the Louvre of the period, and further the moral and thoughtful earnestness, the wise, intelligent and rightly calculated composition, with sometimes a certain grandeur of conception, all

these peculiarities found in the works of Poussin, are likewise characteristics of the architectural creations of Salomon de Brosse. The cold and dignified earnestness of Philippe de Champaigne (1602-1674), to which Flemish nature and Jansenism contributed, is similar to that of the Huguenot de Brosse.

405. Sources of his Character and Style.

The common cause of these phenomena must be sought in the same sources. Our comparison is not a fanciful one, as might appear from the words of Henri Martin.⁶³⁹ He has merely forgotten to mention de Brosse among his kind.

Note 639. "In the first half of the 17th century, the stronger, if not the more brilliant of the two", Henri Martin writes, "the same spirit seized upon the intellectual domain and that of earthly existence; politics, philosophy, poetry, and the fine arts pursue the same ideal of reason and earnest greatness; Richelieu, Descartes, Corneille and Poussin are brothers". *Histoire de France*. Vol. 12. p. 2.

The great earnestness of noble spirits in that period, both among the Catholics as well as the Protestants, must be considered as a fruit of the wars of religion, but the coldness, as a result of the predominating tendency of reason.

The touch of grandeur with de Brosse, as well as the belief in lofty and heroic ideals with Corneille, are on the one hand the fruits of the highest good, for which they strove with such courage and constancy, on the other hand as a result of the greatness of the personality of Henry IV and of his government (Art. 215). Henry the Great, who raised France from an abyss to new prosperity, and his entire government was far better adapted to call forth artistic interpretation, grand impressions, and assured individualities, like de Brosse, Poussin and Corneille, than the times of Richelieu and of Louis XIV. The fact that these first appeared under his successor is connected with the early death of Henry IV, and changes nothing in the origin of these characters. They sprung from the age of Henry IV, and they form its characteristics. Salomon de Brosse is the real architect of Henry IV, and his style is the symbol of the great and earnest phases of his government.⁶⁴⁰

Note 640. This connection between de Brosse and these str-

strongest and greatest phenomena of French art and literature must aid in making better known than heretofore the peculiar and deepest sources, from which these originated, or at least the impelling forces, which strongly influenced them.

From the same sources likewise springs a decided impulse of manly vigor, which differentiates the age of Henry IV and the first half of the 17 th century from the age of Louis XIV and the phases preceding this. There were required the ever increasing conquest of the Jesuits in School, dwelling, and near the throne, to make possible an era of Louis XIV with its weakening and disappearance of independent characters.

How shall be explained here the precedence of architecture with Salomon de Brosse before Corneille and Poussin? It does not always precede the development of literature.

In the time of Henry IV, architecture was under other conditions than literature. It was an art, which in Rome under Pope Julius II and then in France in the last years of Francis I had reached a climax and maturity, that it has never since attained. Yet both periods had by far never exhausted this treasure; for evil times had destroyed in the bud the most splendid results. This aroused in many, especially in minds of severe tendency, the hope of calling this splendor again into life by adhering to the principles of that period. For the architecture of that period, the climax in France lay in the past; for literature and painting, it lay in the future. To this fact is it to be ascribed, that Salomon de Brosse, before Corneille and Poussin, was able to express in architecture something of that impulse of grandeur and of earnestness, which was peculiar to the strong minds of the age of Henry IV.

406. Position of Salomon de Brosse.

In the period from 1614-1626, Salomon de Brosse was regarded as manifestly the best living architect of France. He was the bearer and guardian of the treasure of the attainments of the high Renaissance. He received this from the hands of his uncle Baptiste Du Cerceau and his father, and he transmitted it to Francois Mansart and Lemercier.

407. De Brosse as Creator of the Grand Style.

De Brosse may likewise be regarded as the last great architect of the 16 th century, as well as the first architect of

the age of Louis XIV and of the Grand style. Still more than Jean Bullant and perhaps for the first time since the Romans, de Brosse has introduced the "antique scale of the monumental" again in architecture north of the Alps.⁶⁴¹ Like perhaps no second Frenchman, de Brosse has also comprehended the virile character of antique Roman architecture.

Note 441. Read very truly says:-- "The work of Salomon de Brosse is distinguished by a beautiful unity; it is grand." It is the transition between Du Cerceau and Mansart. He introduced the style of Louis XIII; he foretold the grand style of Louis XIV". -- Read has not exaggerated in all this. We even go further than he in this recognition.

Before Richelieu, Poussin and Corneille, 20 years earlier than the "Cid" of the latter, the architect of Henry IV and of Marie de Medici originated the art tendency of the great century. Salomon de Brosse is therefore the first in the series of important Frenchmen, who follow the combination of two great sources of the age of Henry IV. One may say that the Huguenot Salomon de Brosse inaugurated the grand style in France, just as the Huguenot Sully commenced the series of four great ministers of the 17th century. Both together created the so-called Huguenot style, that was much employed in Holland, Prussia, north Germany, and in part in England; Sully with his Dutch brick architecture, de Brosse with the impulse toward the coldly reasonable and earnest. Whether Salomon de Brosse influenced his famous contemporary Salomon de Gausse (Art. 414), likewise a Huguenot, I am unable to state.

From what has been said may already be seen, how the replies to some of Lemonnier's questions have led to important, interesting, and in part unexpected results. But we are not at the end of de Brosse's influence on French architecture.

408. The Royal Scale.

If the touch of grandeur in the monuments mentioned and by some of his successors be merely the result of a grander conception of architecture by these different masters, and be a peculiarity entirely independent with each of them, yet there exists an intellectual relationship between de Brosse, Perrault, Servandoni, and J. Ange Gabriel. One may say of the works of these masters, that these are the only ones in the ar-

architecture of the last four centuries, which exhibit in France a truly "royal scale" and character,⁶⁴² not only by their magnitude, but by the merit of their composition. This poverty in comparison with Italy is the more striking, because kings have nowhere else done so much for architecture, as in France. It is interesting to see that herein also de Brosse, the architect of Henry IV, took the lead of others, or built further on the foundation laid in Charleval by his great uncle Du Cerceau. The works of Perrault and of Gabriel exhibit a much finer treatment of the details, than those of de Brosse, caused by the entire development of that age. On the other hand, French architecture after about 1660 entirely lacks anything of that touch of strong virility, that is peculiar to all his works. By this tendency is justified the feeling of Lemonnier, that the French school has developed but little from him.

*ote 642. The impression of the court of the Louvre by Pierre Lescot is rather artistic and distinguished, than royal and majestic in the exact meaning of the words.

409. Influence of de Brosse.

Besides a great style relationship with de Brosse, very striking on the other hand is the touch of virile splendor in the compositions of Daniel Marot, whose emigration at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes is termed by Destailleur a great loss for architecture in general. But he was also a Huguenot, and he aided in infusing new life into the Huguenot style in Holland and perhaps also in England. (Art. 407).

We must be satisfied with determining the facts here. They are connected with the religious and political phenomena mentioned in Art. 229.

Some vestiges of the influence of Salomon de Brosse must after all be found with Francois Mansart and with Lemercier; and especially in the bold treatment of columns in some of their earlier works. With Mansart, these are the court facade of the building of Gaston d'Orleans at Blois (1635), and the facade of his former Church des Feuillants at Paris, as shown by a comparison of Fig. 167 with the front of S. Gervais in Fig. 166. With Lemercier, comparison is invited by the bold columns of the three-aisled passage in his pavilion de l'Horloge of the Louvre (1624); this was not connected with

the forms of P. Lescot, as on the facade. Finally, the influence of the facade of S. Gervais must have been very strong in France, as we shall see in connection with church architecture. Even in the Cathedral of Nancy, the central portion is to be entirely referred to the latter. This facade was the first one north of the Alps, that originated in any degree in the spirit of the Italian high Renaissance. Even the Jesuits imitated it in their way in S. Paul at Paris. To its purely monumental severity must it be partly due, that later the Val-de-Grace and the Dome des Invalids were not also erected in the Jesuit style.

It is evident from the preceding, that the influence of de Brosse was very considerable, at least by some of his peculiarities, just as in France and in Protestant Europe. His famous Huguenot Temple of Charenton influenced similar buildings in Geneva, Berlin and in other places.

2. Masters of the Age of Louis XIII.

A. Less important Masters.

410. The Masters.

For masters working during two different periods of time, it is frequently difficult to decide in which phase they are to be placed, especially when one possesses insufficient information concerning the character of their works. Several of the following masters had already begun their work in the age of Henry IV.

For a better understanding of the position, that some of the well known architects of this time occupied, we give the following extract from a salary list of the royal masters from the year 1624.⁶⁴³

Note 643. Archives de l'Art Français. Series 2. Vol. 2. p. 337.

Salomon de Brosse	2400 livres.
Clement Metezeau	2400 „,
Sieur Bourdoni, sculptor in place of Pierre Frangueville	2400 „,
Sieur Francyne, engineer and superintendend of the water supply and fountains of his majesty	1800 „,
Sieur de St. Mauris ⁶⁴⁴	1800 „,
Jacques Le Mercier	1200 „,

Quintin Varin, painter	1200 livres
Claude Mollet, gardener, for designing in all the gardens of his majesty	1100 ,,
Paul de Brosse	800 ,,
Jean Androuet, called Du Cerceau	800 ,,

Note 644. "Retained by his majesty to serve for designing paintings and devices, that he wishes to make in his residences and galleries".

411. Jean Androuet Du Cerceau.

a. Jean Androuet I Du Cerceau is the fourth and last master of that famous family of architects, which rose to an important position. He was born before 1590, was still under age in 1602, and still lived in 1649. We see him designated in 1617 as son of Baptiste Du Cerceau (Art. 206), and on account of his father's services to the deceased queen, and for his own knowledge, he likewise became one of the architects of the king. We leave the more important facts to follow, that we possess concerning this master.

First on Sept. 30, 1617, was Jean Du Cerceau appointed by the king in consequence of the death of Antoine Metivier, of whose salary of 800 livres, 500 were assigned to him,⁶⁴⁵ the other 300 being received by the sculptor Thomas Boudin. His salary amounted to 800 livres in the year 1625, but was in that year reduced to one-half, as for most artists. He already had this salary in 1624.⁶⁴⁶

Note 645. Androuet (Jehan), called Du Cerceau, architect, in the place and position of the late Antoine Metivier, at the sum of 800 livres salary ordered by his majesty to the said Metivier, the sum of 800 livres by potent of the last day of September, 1617, the said sum of 800 livres. (*Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1872. p. 15. -- According to the appointment of Boudin (p. 13), the potent was of Sept. 30, 1618).

Note 646. See *Archives de l'Art Français*. Series 2. Vol. 2. (1862-1866). p. 340.

In 1632, he owned stone quarries in partnership with his cousin Paul Brosse, son of Salomon. Both bore the title of "ordinary architect of the king", and they worked together on the new fortifications of Paris. In 1639, Jean Du Cerceau u

undertook in partnership with Denis Laud and Mathurin Du Ry the rebuilding of the Pont-au-change at Paris.

1647, Aug. 6, still in a lawsuit he bore the title of "ordinary architect of the king".⁶⁴⁷

Note 647. Illustrated in Geymüller, H. Les Du Cerceau etc. Paris. 1887. Figs. 118, 119.

Jean Du Cerceau built the important Hotels de Bretonvilliers⁶⁴⁸ and de Sully. The latter, in Rue S. Antoine, is still preserved. (Figs. 54, 304).

Note 648. Courteous communication of H. Lemonnier).

Another Jean Du Cerceau, architect from Verneuil-sur-Oise, thus related to Jean I, died in 1644 at the age of 21 years.

412. Paul de Brosse.

b. little is yet known concerning Paul de Brosse, son of Salomon de Brosse, who was likewise one of the royal architects and worked much with his cousin Jean I Du Cerceau. I am indebted to Ch. Read for the following statements.

1617, he was already married to Anne Bourree (or Bourse, B Buree or de Bourree).

1618, May 26, occurred the baptism of his daughter Anne.

1619, he was already architect of the king.

1620, one of his nephews was baptised.

1624, he was mentioned on the list of royal masters with a salary of 300 livres.

1634, he was still "ordinary architect of the king", living at Verneuil-sur-Oise.

1636. A de Brosse, probably Paul, with Lemer cier as colleague, was architect of the Cathedral of Troyes.

1636, as M. Paul de Brosse, architect and engineer of the king, he baptized a natural son.

1644, March 9, his two daughters Anne and Florence married two brothers, Caesar and Anthoine de Montdesir in the Catholic church at Verneuil.

413. Charles Du Ry.

c. Charles Du Ry (born before 1576) was already mentioned in Art. 397. Apparently from Argentan in Normandy, but like de Brosse formerly settled in Verneuil-sur-Oise he appears to have played the part of an architect representing Salomon, or of a contractor in friendship with him. The appella-

appellation of "celebrated architect of Argentan" is still scarcely intelligible; for in a list of the year 1636, he is mentioned with a salary of only 400 livres, although he could then have been not less than 60 years old.

Already in 1613, he commenced with his son Matthieu to superintend the erection of Chateau Coulommiers and of the Church of Capuchins there.⁶⁴⁹ In 1615, he is also found busied at Chateau Monceaux for the queen mother, likewise under de Brosse.

Note 649. In the settlement of accounts on Nov. 14, 1622, between Catherine de Gonzaga and her intendant Sieur de Beauvillain, he is designated as M. Charles du Ry, mason of the chateau, and at another time merely as masson (mason).

Charles is the ancestor of the family Du Ry of architects. We mention their names according to the series.⁶⁵¹ Charles, Matthieu, Paul, Charles II, Simon-Louis and Jean-Charles-Etienne. After Paul, who as a Huguenot left France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, these masters were always employed in Cassel, where all of them attained high positions, and the last died in 1911.

Note 650. To Charles Du Ry, master mason at Paris, the sum of 201 lt 12 st ordered to him for the true account rendered for the masonry work, which he has made for the repairs to the Chateau of Monceaux, which sum has been paid in cash by the said Sieur de Brosse, architect of the said lady queen.

Note 651. According to Lance. Vol. 1. p. 243.-- Lance follows Dussieu's statements.

414. Salomon de Caus.

d. Salomon de Caus or Caux was born about 1576 in Dieppe or the vicinity. He was almost entirely employed in foreign countries, in Heidelberg and elsewhere. He returned to France in 1619 for a time. Besides the preparation of designs and advice for a never constructed bridge in Rouen, nothing is known of his work in his native country.

Charles Read published his burial certificate of Feb., 1626⁶⁵². He is believed to have died only in 1641.

Note 652. See Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Francais. Vol. 11. p. 300.

B. Chief Masters.

415. Clement II Metezau (earlier Mettezeau).

Born at Dreux on Feb. 6, 1581, buried on Nov. 29, 1652, and is the last famous architect of this family. (Arts. 379, 380). Clement was likewise a son of Thibaut, and he was architect of Louis XIII and of Louis XIV. He is especially famous on account of the dyke, by which he cut off Rochelle from the sea and from English aid, causing it to fall in 1628.

1615, Sept. 25, Clement was appointed by the king with a salary of 800 livres annually.

1624, Louis XIII maintained Claude Rouhier with Mottezau, so that Rouhier might be instructed in architecture.

1625, his salary amounted to 2400 livres. This was not, like those of most other masters (Art. 305), reduced one-half, "in consequence of the service to which he will anew be subject, to watch over the continuation of the new building of the Louvre and to have an eye thereon",⁶⁵³.

Note 653. *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1842. p. 40.

1626, he bore the title of "ordinary architect of the king".

1627, Nov. 27, he drew the plan for the dike of Rochelle, and traveled there again.

1636, his salary was raised to 300 livres "in consideration of his deserts and of the ordinary services at present rendered to the king".

In the following are mentioned the names of the principal works ascribed to Clement.

Chateau de la Meilleraie in Poitou.

Chateau Chilly on the road to Orleans, built for Marshal d'Essiat; both credited to him by d'Argenville.⁶⁵⁴

Note 654. See D'Argenville, *D. Abrege de la Vie des plus fameux peintres*. Paris. 1745.

Early writers ascribe to him:--

Hotel de Longueville at Paris (Fig. 57), originally de Luy-nes, later d'Epernon, begun before 1621.

Church de l'Oratoire at Paris, indeed the design (corner stone in 1621) and the building of the nave. The choir was built in 1630 after his design by Lemercier. The facade originated at a later time.

Cloister of the Assumption at Dreux in 1632.

Southern transept of Church at Dreux.

Metezau was one of the masters, that had his residence in

the gallery of the Louvre. He died there as ordinary architect and engineer of the king and was buried on Nov. 29, 1652.

In a more remarkable manner was Clement II Metezau likewise brought into connection with two of the chief works of Salomon de Brosse: the facade of S. Gervais in Paris, which must be his work according to T. Donnant,⁶⁵⁵ while Catherinot⁶⁵⁶ regards it as a work of both masters. The same Donnant says that Palace Luxemburg at Paris is the work of Metezeau. These statements of fellow countrymen of Metezeau, moved by local patriotism, cannot essentially change the authorship of de Brosse.⁶⁵⁷

Note 655. According to Berty, author of a reliable manuscript (H.F.283) of the Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal at Paris.

Note 656. See his *Traite sur l'Architecture*. Paris. 1688.

Note 657. A. de Montaignon thinks, that Metezeau might have been the contractor for the building of the facade of S. Gervais. Berty, who maintains this view, believes that since this concerned a Catholic church, a Catholic master may have been joined with the Protestant de Brosse. Finally, Read refers to the possibility of a painter's error in Sauval, who mentions one Monart as the master executing the facade, when Metezau might perhaps be meant. (See our statement concerning Fr. Mansard (Art. 41c), as well as Berty, A. *Les grandes Architectes Francais*. Paris. 1860. p. 129.).

416. Jacques Lemercier.

b. Jacques Lemercier or Le Mercier (born at Pontoise about 1585, died in 1654) was with Fr. Mansart the busiest architect of the time of Richelieu. Far more than royal architect was he the actual personal architect of the mighty cardinal, for whom he was required to develop a great practice in architecture. We give for him the following notes and dates.

1618, Lemercier was already one of the royal architects with a salary of 1200 livres.

1620, with Salomon de Caus, he was sent to Rouen to study the erection of a bridge.

1624, he still had a salary of 1200 livres, while de Brosse and Clement Metezau each received 2400 livres.

After 1624 entrusted with the continuation of the court of the Louvre, he built the northern half of the western side w

with the first edition of the book in 1887, the second edition of the book in 1897.

1887, an edition in 1897, the third edition in 1907, and the fourth edition in 1917.

The book is a history of the city of London, and is written by a Londoner.

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with the famous pavilion de l'Horloge and the western part of the northern side.

1627, he began in Poitou the truly royal Chateau Richelieu and the City of the same name for the cardinal minister.

1627, he (or according to others, Clement Metezau) built Chateau Silly or Chilly for marshal Ruze d'Essiat, father of the unfortunate Cinq Mars.

1629, he began in Paris for Richelieu Palace Cardinal, later Palace Royal, and he superintended its successive extensions. There remains of his buildings only the so-called Gallery des Princes.

He commenced at the same time for Richelieu the erection of the Church and the buildings of the Sorbonne at Paris. (Figs. 202, 257).

1632 (?), Lemercier began for Louis XIII the old Chateau at Versailles (Figs. 58, 273), of which the court of Marble still remains.

1633, Richelieu purchased the estate at Rueil near Paris, and he had considerable additions to the chateau built by Lemercier. 658

Note 658. See Bonaffe, E. *Recherches sur les Collections de Richelieu*. Paris. 1883. p. 92.

1636, he built with Paul (?) de Brosse the two turrets of the north tower of the Cathedral of Troyes.

1636, Palace Cardinal at Paris was completed. 659

Note 659. See the same, p. 6.

1636, in consideration of "his deserts and his present service", his salary amounted to 3000 livres. 660

Note 660. Jacques had a younger brother Francis, who represented him during his journeys and received a salary of 900 livres. (*Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais*. 1872. p. 33, 34).

1639, Lemercier was first architect of the king.

1645, he stood at the head of the royal masters with a salary of 3000 livres.

1646, in consequence of the refusal of Fr. Mansart to simplify his design for the Church of Val-de-Grace, he was entrusted with its continuation and he apparently executed it up to the internal main cornice.

1652, as successor of Cl. Metezau, he built the choir of the

Church of the Oratory at Paris.

1653, he began the erection of Church S. Roch at Paris and executed the choir and a part of the nave.

As further works of Lemonnier, Lance mentions the Churches at Rueil and at Bagnolet near Paris, also Hotels de Liancourt, de Rochefoucauld and de Longueville. The latter was previously mentioned as a work of Clement Metezau. (Fig. 57).

Lemercier sojourned for several years in Italy, (apparently 1607-1613). According to a verbal statement of Destailleur, he engraved a model of Church of S. Peter in Rome.

His style appears to have always been severe with a classic tendency. Many regard his pavilion de l'Horloge in the Louvre as the best work of French architecture. In continuing the architecture of Lescot, it was difficult to create better, but easy to produce poorer architecture. On the internal columns of the passage beneath the pavilion, Lemercier employed a much bolder treatment, more in the style of de Brosse on the facade of S. Gervais.

Sauval⁶⁶¹ represents Lemercier as somewhat slow, but skillful, discreet, kind to the workmen, and as the best architect of his century. If he was not the Vitruvius, he was the Palladio of the century. In spite of the vast works entrusted to him, he did not enrich himself, and after his death, it was necessary to sell his splendid library for 10,000 crowns to pay his debts. On his advice, Derand's Jesuit Church of S. Louis (House of the Professed) was not orientated, for the reason of its better execution:-- "to the judgment of the said Lemercier were agreed all the Jesuits of the world", adds Sauval.

Note 661. See Sauval. *Histoire et Recherches des Antiquités de la Ville de Paris*. Paris. 1724. Vol. 1. p. 330, 464.

His two sons Jacques and Francis Le Mercier, "children of the deceased Sieur Jacques Le Mercier, while living an excellent architect of his majesty, each received annually 300 livres to enable them to pursue their architectural studies."⁶⁶²

Note 662. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1872. p. 33.

417. Pierre Le Muet.

c. Pierre Le Muet of Lemuet (born Oct. 7, 1591 at Di-

Dijon, died in 1669) with Mansart and Lemercier is indeed the most important master of this period. He was likewise influenced by Salomon de Brosse, as the plan of the pavilions of Chateau Chauvigny shows, in comparison with those of Coulommiers (Figs. 136, 272). This is explained by the following fact.

Already in 1616, he bore the title of an architect of the king, and he received 300 livres for a relief model of Palace Luxemburg, begun after 1615 by de Brosse. In 1618, he was appointed to prepare models of the buildings for the intendants of the royal buildings.

After Fr. Mansart's retirement and Lemercier's death, by royal patent of March 5, 1655 (not 1645, as in Lance ⁶⁶³), he was entrusted with the building of Church Val-de-Grace, which he completed. He received annually a salary of 3000 livres for this.

Note 663. In Dictionnaire des Architectes etc. Paris. Vol. 2. p. 52, n. 2.

By him were erected in Paris the Hotels d'Avaux, de Luynes, de l'Aigle, and of the President Tubeuf, later of Mazarin. (Fig. 149).

After an important practice, he finished Chateau Tanlay, built its court gateway (Fig. 139), and erected Chateaus Chauvigny in Tousaine and de Pont in Champagne, which are peculiar in the forms of their pavilions, among other things.

Le Muet published a treatise on the orders of columns.⁶⁶⁴ More interesting is his "Maniere de bien Bastir", ⁶⁶⁵ since he gives a series of designs of private houses, beginning with the smallest conceivable up to ever increasing ground areas. A third work relates to his executed buildings.⁶⁶⁶

Note 664. Traicte des Cinq Ordres d'Architecture dont se sont servis les Anciens, traduit du Palladio, augmente de nouvelles inventions pour l'art de bien bastir, par le Sieur Le Muet. Paris. 1623.

Note 665. "Maniere de bien bastir pour toutes sortes de Personnes", par Pierre le Muet, architecte ordinaire du roy et conducteur des Desseins des Fortifications en la province de Picardie. Paris. 1647.

Note 666. Augmentations de Nouveaux Bastimens faicts en F

France, par les Ordres et Desseins du Sieur Le Muet. Paris. 1647.

418. Francois Mansart.

d. Francois Mansart or Mansard (born Jan. 23, 1598, at Paris, died there on Sept. 23, 1666) is by the individuality of his works, as well as that of his personality, one of the most important, who have appeared among French architects. With de Brosse, he must have been the best architect in the 17th century. In spite of the fame of his contemporary Le-mercier and of his grand nephew J. Hardouin Mansart, he appears to me as one of the freer, more harmonious, more sublime, and at the same time with bolder talents, than any other masters of his century, and of the three others of his name. M Mansart appears to have been permeated by what is due from the true architect to architecture, that like Felix Duban 200 years later, he preferred to renounce the fame of completing the Louvre in order to not act contrary to his architectural convictions. Saint Simon calls him "the great Mansart, who has left such a good reputation among architects". D'Aviler designates "Messieurs de Brosse and Mansart as two of the greatest architects of this century".⁶⁶⁷

Note 667. D'Aviler, C. A. Cours d'Architecture etc. Paris. 1691. Edition of 1750. p. 36.

Francois was the son of Absalon Mansart, master carpenter of the king, and by the building of the important chateaus, hotels and churches, he most strongly influenced the development of architecture between 1630 and 1666.

Germain Gautier, brother-in-law of his father and one of the architects of Louis XIII, must have been his instructor. Yet Salomon de Brosse either directly or by his works exercised an important influence upon him, as appears from a comparison of his building at Chateau at Blois with those at Coulommiers and the church facades represented in Figs. 166 and 167. The similarity of the latter is so great, that one might take him to be the pupil or superintendent under Salomon; for Sauval mentions as such on the Church of S. Gervais one Monart, of whom nothing further is known.⁶⁶⁸ This might be a typographical error, as these are frequent in Sauval. Mansart was 19 years old at the laying of the cornerstone.

Note 668. Lancelotti (in his Dictionnaire des Architectes Fran-

Francois) does not mention him. Charles Normand (in *Nouvel Itinéraire-Guide Artistique et Archeologique de Paris*. Paris. 1889-1892. p. 302) calls him Claude Mansart.

From the practice of Mansart, we emphasize the following important points.

1632-1634, he built in Paris the Church of Visitation des Filles de S. Marie (Fig. 62).

1634, he undertook the extension of Hotel Garnavalet at Paris.

In the years 1635-1638 fall the beginning and the erection of Hotel de la Vrilliere at Paris.

1635, he began at the Chateau of Blois the Building of Gaston d'Orleans.

1642 (not 1657), building the Chateau of Maisons near S. Germain-en-Laye.

1645, commencement of the Monastery and Church of Val-de-Grace at Paris.

For a better review of the activity of Mansart, we here mention (according to Lance) the most important of his buildings, that will be more fully described later.

Churches in Paris:-- The facades of the Feuillants (Fig. 167), those of the Convent of the Dames de S. Marie (Chaillot) and of the Minimes near Place Royale (Fig. 259); the high altars of the Filles-Dieu, of the Hospital of the Trinite and of the Monastery of S. Martin des Champs. Hotels:-- De Mazarin (1633-1649), the galleries de Conti, de Bouillon and de Albrét, de Jars or Senozan; d'Aumont (Rue Jouy), de Coislin de Fleubert, de Chateauneuf (after 1765, de Laval), the gateway of Hotel Guenegard; apparently the Hotel-de-Ville of Troyes. Chateaus:-- at Fresnes (between Claye and Maux), at Berny, at Balleroy (Calvados, 1626-1636), at La Ferte-Reuilly (1659); portions of Chateaus at Choisy-sur-Seine, at La Ferte S. Aubin, at Petit-Bourg (between Paris and Corbeil), at Coulommiers, Richelieu and Govre in Brie.

Concerning the salary of Mansart, we have the following data:⁶⁶⁹-- In 1636, Francois Mansart, "architect", received annually 1200 livres; in 1645, he received for 3/4 year 2250 l livres salary; in 1656, he had 3000 livres, but reduced to one-half; in 1606, the sculptor Jehan Mansart received yearly 500 livres, and in 1618 his son Pierre (sculptor) also had 500 livres.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Museum of Natural History, held on the 10th of January, 1891. The names are given in the order in which they were called to the chair. The names of the persons who were present at the meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Museum of Natural History, held on the 10th of January, 1891, are given in the order in which they were called to the chair. The names of the persons who were present at the meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Museum of Natural History, held on the 10th of January, 1891, are given in the order in which they were called to the chair.

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Note 669. *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1872. p. 39.

The following cause appears to prove that our master possessed great independence of character and was very strongly impressed by what was due to the honor of his art. In all works undertaken by him, Francois Mansart always reserved the right of being able to make all the changes, that appeared proper to him. To this custom alone is it ascribed, that the building of the main facade of the *Louvre* (the later colonnade) was not entrusted to him, and that Bernini was first called to Paris. Colbert had requested him to himself choose one from several designs by him, which were very beautiful, to which he would finally adhere. Mansart refused with the remark, that for the honor of his majesty, he preferred freedom to be able always to create something better.⁶⁷⁰ To this tendency toward continual improvement is it attributed, that he frequently had considerable portions of his buildings torn down in order to replace them better. At the Chateau at Maisons, he had the entire ground story torn down.

Note 670. *Archives de l'Art Français*. Series 2. Vol. 2. (1862-1866). p. 248.

In consequence of the inflexibility of his will, the completion of his finest work was placed in other hands. That of *Val-de-Grace* is the work of Fr. Mansart up to the main internal cornice. (Probably merely the ground story). After he had in vain been requested to prepare a less costly design for the continuation of the building, the completion was transferred to Le Mercier.⁶⁷¹

Note 671. In the Chateau of *Fresnes* near Meaux, Fr. Mansart built the chapel after his model of *Val-de-Grace*. (*Archives de l'Art Français*. Series 2. Vol. 2. (1862-1866). p. 255).

The peculiarity of his character is illumined by another, and as it appears, less praiseworthy arrangement planned by Mansart. As an additional source of wealth, he conceived the organization of a privilege, whereby all the copper engravers in France should be regulated, and should publish nothing without his judgment and sanction. The Academy opportunely succeeded in making the permission retroactive. The following idea was most singular and appears to indicate an unscrupulous vanity. Jules Hardouin Mansart was ennobled in

1683 by Louis XIV. His grand uncle Francois Mansart nevertheless had a genealogy made for himself, according to which his family had produced architects during 800 years, giving their Christian names, years of birth and death, children, marriage and works under Hugues Capet and Louis the Fat ! "Nothing is lacking, this is boasting rising to heroism", says A. de Montaignon. ⁶⁷².

Note 672. Archives de l'Art Francois. Series 2. (1862-1866). p. 244.

With such a character, Mansart must have aroused much opposition, both from his employers as well as from his colleagues, and a famous satire "La Mansarade" on him was written and published. ⁶⁷³ We are unable to decide whether this represents purely the invention of malevolent envy or that the complaints were justified.

Note 673. La Mansarde, satire against Francois Mansart, is printed in Archives de l'Art Francois. Series 2. Vol. 2. p. 242-260.-- This satire appeared in Paris on May 1. 1651.

His faults therein became prominent in comparison with the peculiarities of Bramante and other Italians. Mention is also made of the fall of the vestibule in Chateau of Maisons, and of a similar danger at the Gallery Mazarin. Then comes the derision of his household:-- "his servants, his horses and his carriage, which more closely adhere to the antique than his buildings,--- these are derived from those corruptions, like the houses that he possesses". The training of his horses is finally mentioned; to have his horses trained to keep step, as he did at Blois".

c. Architects of the Jesuit Order.

419. Etienne Martellange.

a. Etienne Martellange (1569-1641). We here stand before the works of an architect and painter, very different from those of the masters heretofore considered. Charvet has devoted to him one of those interesting and conscientious monographs, such as he has written on various masters, to which we refer for further information. ⁶⁷⁴ It succeeds better than any other in giving an idea of the immense activity, that the Jesuit order began to develop in France, and of the influence it was capable of exerting on French architecture by its buildings and its colleges.

Note 674. Charvet, L. Biographies d'Architectes Etienne Martellange. Lyons. 1875.

By the discovery of a series of original drawings by Martellange, Henri Bouchot has been able to verify many of Charvet's conjectures and to considerably extend this view of Martellange's activities.⁶⁷⁵

Note 675. Bouchot, H. Notice sur le Vie et les Travaux d'Etienne Martellange, Architecte des Jesuites, suivie du Catalogue de ses Desseins etc. Extrait de la Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Chartes. Vol. 47. Paris. 1886.

Etienne Martellange was born at Lyons. His father was likewise named Etienne and was a painter there. Like his two brothers, this son was a Jesuit and entered the order at Avignon in 1590. Bouchot conjectures, that he then went to Italy and sojourned there until the return of the Jesuits (1603 or till 1604). Charvet already spoke of two volumes of original drawings by Martellange, which the duke of Chaulnes had loaned to count Caylus in the 18 th century, and which have now disappeared. Henri Bouchot showed them to me in the Paris Cabinet of Copperplate Engravings, where he had found them again under the erroneous name of Stella.⁶⁷⁶ He further showed me five other volumes of original drawings, that he had likewise discovered in the same Cabinet in Paris.⁶⁷⁷ they contain plans of Jesuit colleges throughout the entire world or designs for such, which were sent to the general in Rome for his approval. Many of the drawings are by Martellange and contain his Latin, French or Italian notes.

Note 676. The same. The numbers of the two volumes are U b 9 and U b 9a.

Note 677. The 5 volumes in Cabinet des Estampes in Paris bear the name. "Plante di diversi Fabriche". (Plans of various buildings). H d 4 to H d 4d.

Chauvet believes that Martellange may have been of Italian origin, and that his name was Martelenchi. Bouchot on his part emphasizes the ease with which he expressed himself in Italian in his notes.⁶⁷⁸ We note thereon, that his Italian is not only as good as his French, but that the expressions used by him are entirely those of Italian architects, so that he must have at least dwelt long enough in Italy to have learned

and it is not clear when these two events
took place, and he must likewise be taken into account.

Nothing also occurs in his theory, but these questions are
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nology in the notes later increases more and more. Yet as the
use in 1917 and long and severe criticism on the basis of
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other at Paris (now St. Paul at St. Louis) in the French lan-
guage. In this frequently occurs the use of "German" in his
writings. However, German is not used, but as reported in
his writings, where this manner is common. But the same
elements in which the "German" is used, which are prominent in
his writings, and even in 1917 in the original versions,
his writings, and his theory was 31 years before.

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the language much better than foreign architects are accustomed to do, and he must likewise at least have received a corresponding architectural training. An occasionally peculiar spelling also occurs in his French, but that custom is not unusual in both countries. Bouchot says that the use of Italian in the notes later increases more and more.⁶⁷⁹ Yet he wrote in 1627 the long and severe criticism on the design of D Durand for the facade of House of the Professed in Rue S. Antoine at Paris (now S. Paul et S. Louis) in the Italian language. In this frequently occurs the use of "canne" in his dimensions. Charvet believes from this, that he sojourned much in Avignon, where this measure is common. But the same measure is with the "palmo Romano", which most architects in Rome employed, and even in 1627 in the criticism mentioned, he writes, that the doorway was 21 palmo Romano.

Note 678. See Bouchot. p. 5.

Note 679. See the same. p. 28, 29.

According to Piganiol de la Force,⁶⁸⁰ Martellange took part in the building of this church at Paris. Chauvet believes, that at most this could have been only a technical employment, which was perhaps laid upon him by the duty of absolute obedience to his order. Piganiol says, that Martellange had designed to simply copy the Church of Jesuits at Rome. The style of his Noviciate at Paris was entirely Roman.

Note 680. Description de Paris etc. Paris. 1742. Vol. 4. p. 371 et seq.

The title of Martellange was "temporal coadjutor". Of the part played by him under Henry IV and Louis XIII Bouchot writes:-- "He inundated France with heavy and cold churches, yet not without power", the greater number of which still exist. Bouchot gives the list of churches and colleges in whose erection Martellange participated. They will be found later in the Section on the buildings of the Jesuits, where we shall describe some of his chief buildings.⁶⁸¹

Note 681. According to Charvet, this was at Chambéry on March 29, 1603. According to Bouchot, p. 5, 24, he received this title at Avignon in 1590.

After his appointment as temporal coadjutor (1603), Martellange executed an entire series of designs for the buildings

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of the order. He worked on the greater number at the same time. Charvet succeeded in establishing the work of Martellange at eight different colleges. By the fortunate finding of the drawings mentioned, Bouchot has extended this practice to 26 colleges. Martellange was, as Charvet writes, the architect general of the order in the provinces of Lyons, Toulouse and even of Paris; he accompanied the provincial fathers on their inspections at the time, when they concluded agreements with the municipalities for the organization of their colleges.⁶⁸² On the grounds of new materials found by him, Bouchot compares his practice with that of an "inspector director of works", whose fame in consequence of his great experience extended even to Rouen and Rennes.⁶⁸³

Note 682. Bouchot. p. 10.

Note 683. The same. p. 6.

Father Coton, confessor to Henry IV, already writes on July 24, 1606, to the general of the Jesuits in Rome, that has designated Martellange as "distinguished architect and painter", and has asked him from the provincial father in Lyons for the College de la Fleche. Martellange must indeed have been an uncommonly industrious and likewise able personage. His plans for the building of the General Almshouse at Lyons, now Hospital de la Charite, are for the time a very prominent undertaking, that even yet deserves full recognition. (Fig. 2 216). Charvet emphasizes the decorative exaggeration and the mannerisms in forms, into which the Jesuits later fell, and that were entirely foreign to Martellange; by their simplicity and strength, his numerous works exerted a healthy influence on the architecture of that time. Herein they remind us of the character of those of the great Huguenot master, Salomon de Brosse, whose friend Martellange must have been.⁶⁸⁴

Note 684. Charvet. p. 211.

To judge from the engraving by J. Marot,⁶⁸⁵ his doorway of the Noviciate was just as severe as a work of de Brosse. The laurel pendants suspended beside the doorway jambs are as powerfully treated in scale as de Brosse's foliage on the Church of S. Gervais at Paris.

Note 685. Reproduction there. p. 99.

Bouchot is of the opinion, that E. Martellange may have bu-

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built the facade of the Church of Minimes at Nevers, since he has drawn it.⁶⁸⁶ This view appears to me improbable, if one considers his facade of the Noviciate at Paris. In the Chapter on the Technical, we shall later see, that Martellange made some contributions to the work of Father Durand on stone-cutting. According to Destailleur, Martellange also aided M Mathurin Jousse in 1626 in his "Translation of Viator's Perspective". A. de Montaiglon and Charvet ⁶⁸⁷ are of the opinion, that this edition of 1626, "extended and illustrated by master Estienne Martellange", perhaps did not appear, since the edition of 1635 says nothing more of Martellange.

Note 686. The same. p. 23.

Note 687. Charvet. p. 214 et seq.

Martellange, who managed the stone work, must have ceased to practice in 1633. Charvet says, that from this time until his death (Oct. 3, 1641), he appears to have busied himself with smaller works in painting. On the ground of dated views of buildings, Bouchot would first place this change of employment in the year 1637. By the aid of these numerous dated drawings of buildings in various places, Bouchot has established a chronological list of localities in which Martellange sojourned from 1605 to 1639.⁶⁸⁸ Without being exhaustive, this collection affords an interesting view of the extraordinary activity required of the Jesuit architect.

Note 688. Bouchot. p. 35.

420. Francois Derand.

b. Francois Derand ⁶⁸⁹ (1588-1644) was born in the diocese of Metz and entered the Jesuit order in 1611. To this native place may it be ascribed, that in contrast to the simple and severe Roman style of the Lyonese Martellange, he was strongly inclined toward the Roman-Flemish Barocco.

Note 689. Martellange writes his name as follows:-- "Design made by the R. P. Francesco de Rand for the Parigi with his own hand". (Cabinet des Estampes. Vol. H d 4b. Fol. 225. -- Derand subscribes himself in 1625; "your reverence's servant in Christ, Franc. Derand. (Vol. H d 4b. Fol. 254).

Derand is especially known as the builder of the Maison Professe of the Jesuits at Paris with their Church in Rue S. Antoine. This was originally S. Louis and is now S. Paul et S. Louis.

The design of Derand was preferred to that of Martellange. Derand sent in 1625 his design from the Maison Professe to Rome, where it was accepted. In a view of the building drawn in 1627 by Martellange, there appears merely the apse above ground and the foundations of a portion of the right side.⁶⁹⁰ It was completed in 1641. It will be mentioned in the Chapter on Religious Architecture.⁶⁹¹

Note 690. Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. Vol. Hd 4b. Fol. 221.

Note 691. Adjoining the Church S. Paul et S. Louis, the buildings of Lycee Charlemagne are likewise the work of father Derand.

H. Destailleur possessed an interesting album with 67 original drawings, that he was inclined to ascribe to father Derand, since 18 of the sheets had a subscript monogram, in which it was believed could be read De in 17 cases with an r as a third letter. This was sold after Destailleur's death under the name of Derand.⁶⁹² But on closer examination of folios 3, 64, and especially 18, that it is a V. Also in the title page is only one D and a V, both connected with the date of March 1, 1603. It therefore cannot refer to Derand, who was only 15 years old in 1603, while the drawings are those of a master, whose manner is already matured. Most sheets in this volume are dated 1615 and 1616.

Note 692. Catalogue des Dessins et Tableaux provenant de la collection de feu M. H. Destailleur. Paris. 1889. p. 22. 122.

421. Paul Closse and Saint-Bonnet.

c. d. Paul Closse, temporal coadjutor, built the College at Chalons-sur-Marne,⁶⁹³ completed in 1678, and father Saint-Bonnet erected in 1701 the Astronomical Observatory of the College at Lyons.

Note 693. Charvet. p. 188.

D. Other Masters.

422. Francois II de Royers.

a. Francois II de Royers de la Valseniere (1575-1667) belongs to an architectural dynasty⁶⁹⁴ originating in Piedmont, that was employed for five generations in the then papal Avignon, and also in Lyons and Carpentras.⁶⁹⁵ We mention the following works from his practice.

Note 694. Charvet, L. Biographies d'Architectes. Les Roye-

Royers de la Valseniere, Lyons, 1870.

With this master, we mention four others, and the first numbers for the sake of clarity. He was the first

No. 1. Francois de Royers de la Valseniere worked in 1835

No. 2. Michel-Antoine-Bernard de Royers de la Valseniere,

son of No. 1, was employed by the council of the city of Lyons not to estimate the value of the houses of the city.

No. 3. Francois II de Royers de la Valseniere, son of No.

2, was born in August, 1875, and died March 22, 1887, at the

age of 12 years.

No. 4. Francois III de Royers de la Valseniere, son of Fr-

ancois II, was the first architect of the Hotel-de-Ville at

Lyons in 1860, and he was replaced in 1875 by Jacques Peyret.

In 1868, the council of Lyons summoned him before the court

on account of the payment of its commission. He is described

as a "gentleman of Avignon".

No. 5. Francois IV de Royers de la Valseniere, son of Fr-

ancois III, was the first architect of the Hotel-de-Ville at

Lyons, and he was the first architect of Lyons. In the y-

ears 1860-1864, he is found in charge of the building of the

royal abbey of the Benedictines de Saint Pierre in Lyons, wh-

ose plans were furnished by Francois II at the age of 84 years.

Before this, he built the staircases of the Chapel St. Pierre

de Lussac at Avignon.

1868 and 1869, he was appointed for the council the decor-

ation of the Hotel-de-Ville at Lyons. He was the first archi-

tect as a legacy of Avignon.

1870, he was appointed for the Hotel-de-Ville at Lyons.

the improvements at the Hotel de Lyons, now Hotel de la Ro-

quette de Vaucluse.

1886, he was architect of the Hotel de Vaucluse at Lyons.

From whose plans he prepared in 1884. On a later drawing

for this, he subscribed himself as Francois de Royers de la

Valseniere, son of No. 1.

1840, he began the erection of Palais National, now Palais

of Justice, at Carpentras.

1846, he furnished the plans for the reconstruction of the

Royers de la Valseniere. Lyons. 1870.

Note 695. With this master, we mention four others, assigning them numbers for the sake of clearness. We use the epitome given by Lance's *Dictionnaire des Architectes* after Charvet.

No. 1. Francois de Royers de la Valseniere worked in 1536 and 1531 in Lyons for marquis de Soluces and came from Piedmont.

No. 2. Michel-Antoine-Raimond de Royers de la Valseniere, son of No. 1, was employed by the council of the city of Avignon to estimate the values of the houses of the city.

No. 3. Francois II de Royers de la Valseniere, son of No. 2, was born in August, 1575, and died March 22, 1667, at the age of 92 years.

No. 4. Francois III de Royers de la Valseniere, son of Francois II, was the first architect of the Hotel-de-Ville at Arles in 1666, and he was replaced in 1675 by Jacques Peytret. In 1683, the consuls of Arles summoned him before the court on account of the payment of his commission. He is designated as "gentleman of Avignon".

No. 5. Paul de Royers de la Valseniere, son or nephew of Francois II, designated as "the noble Paul de Royers de la Valseniere, squire, qualified architect at Lyons". In the years 1660-1664, he is found in charge of the building of the royal Abbey of the Benedictines de Saint Pierre in Lyons, whose plans were furnished by Francois II at the age of 84 years.

Before 1612, he built the staircase of the Chapel S. Pierre de Luxembourg at Avignon.

1622 and 1623, he superintended for the council the decorations for the festal entries of Louis XII and of cardinal Barberini as legate of Avignon.

1642, he was architect of the vice-legate and superintended the improvements at the College de Roure, now Hotel de la Recture de Vaucluse.

1636, he was architect of Chartreuse de Villeneuve-lez-Avignon, whose plans he prepared in 1634. On a later drawing for this, he subscribed himself as Francois des Royers de la Valseniere. (Aug. 25, 1644).

1640, he began the erection of Palace Episcopal, now Palace of Justice, at Carpentras.

1645, he furnished the plans for the restoration of the Ch-

Church at Caromb near Carpentras.

1659, Mar. 18, was laid the cornerstone of the royal Abbey of Benedictines de S. Pierre, according to the design supplied by him; since he was already 84 years old, his son or nephew Paul was entrusted with the superintendence.

1667, Mar. 22, he died at Avignon.

423. Other Masters.

Concerning the following architects arranged in alphabetical order, we give from Lance ⁶⁹⁶ the more important facts in regard to their practice.

Note 696. See Lance.

b. Emmanuel Bouquet, architect and sculptor from London, built in the first half of the 17th century the most important houses in Rouen; he changed to Catholicism in 1660.

c. Jacques Curabel (born 1585) passed for the best constructing architect of his time, superintended under Lemercier the building of the Sorbonne, and published a criticism of the work of Desargues on stonecutting.

d. Charles David grew up, as it were, with the extension of the Church of S. Eustache at Paris, on which he worked for his entire life. He must have erected the former unfinished facade, and he died in 1650 at the age of 98 years.

By the inscription on his tomb, he was designated as :-- "sworn of the king in his works of masonry, dean of the sworn and citizen of Paris, architect and superintendent of the building of the Church there (S. Eustache). He lived with his wife Anne Lemercier for 53 years.

e. Christophe Gamare began in 1646 the building of the great Church S. Sulpice at Paris. He further superintended there the Church of Incurables and the Church S. Andre-des-Arts, the transept facade of S. Germain-des Pres (not l' Auxerrois), and the former facade of the Hotel-Dieu. He was in 1626-1643, with his son Guillain, "master of works of the city of Paris".

f. Gilles Herault was designated in the year 1640 as "architect and superintendent of the buildings of Monseigneur the Cardinal de Richelieu".

3. Masters of the Period of Louis XIV.

For a better survey, we divide these masters into two groups:-- the first contains the more important architects, and

the second group comprises in alphabetical order the other known
 as early as the 17th century. The following
 are attributed by name.

A. Important works.

1. Louis Levan.

a. Louis Levan or Le Van (1618-1680). Besides and a
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located the first ten years of the government of Louis XIV.
 The two first editions to make him known were Hotel Lambert
 at Paris, in which he is mentioned in 1680, 1681, 1682,
 and the famous *Grandes Villes de France* of the reign of Louis
 XIV. Some doubt prevails in regard to the exact date of the
 edition of the last. Levan's work is the only
 in 1680; D'Ardenne writes that it was completed in 1680;
 at Paris, in which he is mentioned in 1680, 1681, 1682,
 sealed the fall of France. It is therefore of value to our
 his time.

Note 697. Archives de l'Etat, Paris, vol. 2, p. 245.

His burial certificate contains the following designation
 and title:—"Messire Louis Levan, conseiller of the king in
 his councils, lieutenant and master general of the buildings
 of the king, first architect of the king, and
 of his majesty, house and crown of France. He died on 11th
 day, Oct. 11, at 8 A. M., and he was buried the same day.
 We find further statements.

1688. Louis Levan, architect of the king, received 8000 livres
 per salary, which was paid to him in full.
 1689. Louis Levan, another architect received 500 livres
 without pension and appears to have received 800 livres in
 on the 11th day of October.
 Levan and two sons, who took part in his buildings. Louis
 died in 1681.

the second group comprises in alphabetic order the other known names. Where no special sources are given, the statements are chiefly based on the frequently mentioned *Dictionnaire d des Architectes* by Lance.

A. Important Masters.

424. Louis Levan.

a. Louis Levan or Le Van (1612-1670). Besides and between Francois Mansart and J. Hardouin Mansart in the middle of the 17 th century, Levan was the most employed architect. From 1653 until his death (1670), as "first architect of the king", he had the supervision of the royal buildings. He dominated the first ten years of the government of Louis XIV.

The two first buildings to make him known were Hotel Lambert at Paris, in which Le Sueur~~re~~ already painted in 1648,⁶⁹⁷ and the famous Chateau Vaux-le-Vicomte of the intendant Fouquet. Some doubt prevails in regard to the exact date of the building of the latter. Fouquet wished to set the beginning in 1640; D'Argenville writes that it was completed in 1653; others place the chief activity in building just before 1660. Louis XIV left on Aug. 17, 1661, the famous festival, which sealed the fall of Fouquet. It is therefore of value to obtain from other sources data concerning Levan's position at this time.

Note 697. *Archives de l'Art Francais*. Vol. 2. p. 345.

His burial certificate contains the following designation and title:-- "Messire Louys Levan, counsellor of the king in his councils, intendant and master general of the buildings of his majesty, first architect of his buildings, secretary of his majesty, house and crown of France". He died on Saturday, Oct. 11, at 8 A. M., and he was buried the same day.

We find further statements. ⁶⁹⁸

Note 698. *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais*. 1872.p.37.

1656, Louis Levan, architect of the king, received 3000 livres salary, which was paid to him in full.

1656, Francois Levan, another architect received 500 livres without reduction and appears to have received 600 livres from the *Chambre aux Deniers*.

Levan had two sons, who took part in his buildings. Louis died in 1661.

The preceding statement refers to Stanislas.
The royal account books finally give the following state-
ment: "Note that he was paid to M. de Vau, account-
ant to order, the sum of 8000 livres for part of the remunera-
tion of his charge as confidential interpreter of Stanislas."
Note 899. *Guttenberg, J. Comptes des Batiments du Roi sous
le Regne de Louis XIV. Paris, Vol. 1. col. 187.*
For his appointments 8000 livres, that was entirely paid, in
view of the annual service rendered to his majesty in his en-
tireties --- 8000 livres." 100
Note 900. See the same, column 222. -- He stands at the head
of the list of Jan. 17, 1699, of the officers with orders
for serving generally in all the royal houses and build-
ings of his majesty."
Note 901. See the same, column 222. -- He stands at the head of
the list of Jan. 17, 1699, of the officers with orders
for serving generally in all the royal houses and build-
ings of his majesty."
Note 902. See the same, column 222. -- He stands at the head of
the list of Jan. 17, 1699, of the officers with orders
for serving generally in all the royal houses and build-
ings of his majesty."
Note 903. See the same, column 222. -- He stands at the head of
the list of Jan. 17, 1699, of the officers with orders
for serving generally in all the royal houses and build-
ings of his majesty."
Note 904. See the same, column 222. -- He stands at the head of
the list of Jan. 17, 1699, of the officers with orders
for serving generally in all the royal houses and build-
ings of his majesty."
Note 905. See the same, column 222. -- He stands at the head of
the list of Jan. 17, 1699, of the officers with orders
for serving generally in all the royal houses and build-
ings of his majesty."
Note 906. See the same, column 222. -- He stands at the head of
the list of Jan. 17, 1699, of the officers with orders
for serving generally in all the royal houses and build-
ings of his majesty."
Note 907. See the same, column 222. -- He stands at the head of
the list of Jan. 17, 1699, of the officers with orders
for serving generally in all the royal houses and build-
ings of his majesty."
Note 908. See the same, column 222. -- He stands at the head of
the list of Jan. 17, 1699, of the officers with orders
for serving generally in all the royal houses and build-
ings of his majesty."
Note 909. See the same, column 222. -- He stands at the head of
the list of Jan. 17, 1699, of the officers with orders
for serving generally in all the royal houses and build-
ings of his majesty."
Note 910. See the same, column 222. -- He stands at the head of
the list of Jan. 17, 1699, of the officers with orders
for serving generally in all the royal houses and build-
ings of his majesty."

The preceding statement refers to Francois.

The royal account books finally give the following statements concerning the practice, position and salary of Leveau.

1666, Dec. 9, "Note that he has paid to M. Le Vau, according to order, the sum of 6000 livres for part of the reimbursement of the charge as quadriennial intendant of buildings--- 6000 livres".⁶⁹⁹

Note 699. Guiffrey, J. *Comptes des Batiments du Roi sous le Regne de Louis XIV.* Paris. Vol. 1. col. 157.

1688. "To M. Louis Le Vau, first architect of his majesty, for his appointments 6000 livres, that was entirely paid, in view of the actual service rendered to his majesty in his buildings --- 6000 livres".⁷⁰⁰

Note 700. See the same, column 292. -- He stands at the head of the list of Jan. 17, 1669, of the offices with salaries for serving generally in all the royal houses and buildings of his majesty".

1670. "To Sieur Le Vau, first architect of the buildings of the king --- 6000 livres".⁷⁰¹

Note 701. See the same, col. 481. -- At the head of the list of Jan. 21. 1671.

The following may be said in regard to his practice.

Leveau built the interior of Chateau Vincennes (Fig. 140) as a royal country house.

1654, he was appointed successor of Lemercier on the building of the Louvre and of the Tuileries. He finished the southern wing of the court with the pavilion (Fig. 332) begun by Lescot, and executed the eastern wing excepting the colonnade, and the eastern half of the northern side to the central pavilion. At the Tuileries, he built the middle pavilion and the adjacent wing to the ground story.

1661, Leveau began the erection of the College des Quatre Nations at Paris, now Institute de France (Fig. 198), which Dorbay and Lambert completed after 1668.

1665, as first architect of the king, he contributed to the extension of the Chateau of Louis XIII, two pavilions and an orangerie.

Leveau built in Paris Hotels de Lionne, de Pons, Deshameaux, d'Hesselin, and Lambert, the last two on the island of S. Lo-

ver for Detroit; in St. Joseph near Troyes, east of Saroy.
ty, later du Raincy (sig. 348), de Sergheslay (1842), the lat-
doms; Hotel de Roman in Rue de l'Universite; Quatre de Riv-

...to the ...

During the erection of the colonnade of the house by Oliva-

—The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions in the various departments of the Government of the State of New York, for the year 1900.

U.S. and of the Council of Economic Advisors, Washington, D.C.

20 FEBRUARY.

Concerning the criminal works of Levan, especially his pr-
-noted in Yvan, at the House and in Yvan's office, we shall not
-we to return to him. He and not J. Levanovskiy fixed a

the type of labor or the axial system in Versailles. 197-
 makes one is too severe against him in comparison with J. Har-
 197-198. It appears to me, that the difference between

••••• J. GILBERT •••••

0. Francis Joseph I (1818-1848), who should not be confused with two later monarchs of this name. He was born in 1818 and died in 1848, and only after long negotiations was he able to obtain the throne of Austria.

.EPMISCTW DNE ENTOW EHO

Louis; Hotel de Rohan in Rue de l'Universite; Chateau de Livry, later du Raincy (Fig. 242), de Seignelay (1662), the latter for Colbert; du S. Sepulchre near Troyes, and of Bercy. The Chateau of Bercy has already been mentioned by Lance as a work of Francois Mansart.

During the erection of the colonnade of the Louvre by Claude Perrault, Levan retained his position as architect of the Louvre.

Levan was the first architect of the great Church S. Sulpice at Paris, and probably likewise of the Church S. Louis en l'Isle and of the Chapel of Salpetriere, usually attributed to Bruand.

Concerning the principal works of Levan, especially his practice in Vaux, at the Louvre and in Versailles, we shall have to return to him. He and not J. Hardouin Mansart fixed the type of facade or its axial system in Versailles. Perhaps one is too severe against him in comparison with J. Hardouin Mansart. It appears to me, that the difference between the capabilities of both was not so great. Perhaps he ventured more than the latter in his solutions. In several works may be seen the endeavor to combine a colossal and a smaller order. (Figs. 198, 241, 242).

425. Francois I. Blondel.

b. Francois Blondel I (1618-1686), who should not be confused with two later architects of this name. He was Seigneur des Croisettes et Gallardon, and only after long continued travels did he commence at about the age of forty years to study the profession of military engineering and then of architecture, in which he acquired an important name by various works and writings.

He began in 1665 with the construction of the Bridge of Saintes. Of his three city Gates of Paris, the Gate of S. Denis is especially known as a triumphal arch (Fig. 63). He likewise executed the Hotel de Rouille at Paris.

Interesting is the choir ending, which he built on the five sides of the late Gothic apse of S. Laurent at Paris. In this peculiar arrangement, in the midst of these reminiscences of his admiration of Church S. Peter and for Palladio, one feels the work of a man, who was accustomed to reflect upon

Louis XIV appointed Blondel "architect of the games and amusements of the king," he became in 1671 a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts and in 1678 its director.

Blondel's first work was the plan of the Louvre, which he completed in 1678. He then worked on the plan of the Invalides, which he completed in 1688. He also worked on the plan of the Bastille, which he completed in 1694. He was a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts from 1671 to 1694.

Blondel's second work was the plan of the Louvre, which he completed in 1678. He then worked on the plan of the Invalides, which he completed in 1688. He also worked on the plan of the Bastille, which he completed in 1694. He was a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts from 1671 to 1694.

Blondel's third work was the plan of the Louvre, which he completed in 1678. He then worked on the plan of the Invalides, which he completed in 1688. He also worked on the plan of the Bastille, which he completed in 1694. He was a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts from 1671 to 1694.

Blondel's fourth work was the plan of the Louvre, which he completed in 1678. He then worked on the plan of the Invalides, which he completed in 1688. He also worked on the plan of the Bastille, which he completed in 1694. He was a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts from 1671 to 1694.

Blondel's fifth work was the plan of the Louvre, which he completed in 1678. He then worked on the plan of the Invalides, which he completed in 1688. He also worked on the plan of the Bastille, which he completed in 1694. He was a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts from 1671 to 1694.

the nature of architecture, and who knew all its contemporary rules.

Louis XIV appointed Blondel "marshal of the camps and armies of the king;" he became in 1671 a member of the Academy and in 1672 its director.

Among his writings, the two following should be mentioned here. The first bears the title:-- *Cours d'Architecture enseigné dans l'Académie Royale* (Paris. 1675); it comprises the instruction, that he gave to his pupils. The second is called:-- *Resolution des quatre principaux Problèmes d'Architecture*. (Paris. 1673).

426. Claude Perrault.

c. Claude Perrault (born about 1613, died Oct. 8, 1688). The name of Perrault has attained special fame by the building of the colonnade of the Louvre, after the competition with Bernini and by the fact, that he was not at first an architect. The latter circumstance is a particular thorn in the eye for many French architects, like Viollet-le-Duc and Lance, who have returned to the Gothic conception of the architectural profession. They seek to lessen Perrault's services to the utmost. We shall endeavor to give as many points of view as possible, in order to reach a just decision.

Claude Perrault, learned man and artist, doctor and physician, anatomist and architect, was one of the most versatile spirits, as Henri Martin says, that ever won results in all domains. He belongs to those, who at once became members at the founding of the Academy of Sciences. A peculiar light is cast upon the manysidedness of Perrault by the statement of some payments made to him in the accounts of the royal buildings.

1671, March 26:-- To Sieur Perrault, physician, for the work done by him and the attention given to the buildings in 1669 and 1670,⁷⁰² 4000 livres.

Gulffrey. *Comptes des Bâtimens* etc. Vol. 1. col. 368.

1678, Jan. 23:-- To Sieur Perrault, in consideration of the architectural designs made by him for the Louvre, the Arch of Triumph, and other places,⁷⁰³ 4000 livres.

Note 703. See the same. Col. 1012.

The other payments made to Perrault between 1668 and 1687 state:-- in consideration of his application to medicine,

1500 livres, -- or to Sieur Perrault, physician, for his profound knowledge of medicine, or for works for the Academy of Sciences, or in consideration of his particular knowledge of chemistry.

In the same accounts, the following refers to Perrault's work on Vitruvius:-- Jan. 15, 1668, 300 livres were paid to the copperplate engraver Pitau on account for the plates, which he engraved for a translation of Vitruvius for the king. The work of Perrault appeared in 1673.

Perrault's first design for the completion of the Louvre dates from 1664. After the departure of Bernini, Claude with the aid of his brother Charles became his successor. The cornerstone for his colonnade was laid in 1665 (Fig. 223); the building was completed in 1680. Different ideas of Perrault for the ornamentation of the angle pavilions were not executed.

~~The other payments made to Perrault between 1668 and 1687
take into consideration of his application to medicine~~

Perrault built in 1668-1671 the Astronomical Observatory at Paris. Likewise from him come the Church S. Berwit-le-Betourne, where he was buried, and the altar of Notre-Dame-de-Savonne in the Church des Petits-Peres at Paris. He prepared a design for a new Church S. Genevieve at Paris, and published two works: the "Architecture Generale de Vitruve, reduite et abrege", (Paris. 1674), and the "Ordonnance des cinq Especies de Colonnes selon la Methode des Anciens". (Paris. 1683).

Lance asks,⁷⁰⁴ what has become of the two folio volumes with the drawings of Perrault, collected by his brother Charles in 1683, the author of the famous "Contes de Perrault", and which belonged to the marquis de Marigny and later to Charles X. I saw them in 1867 in the Imperial Library of the Louvre with all the original drawings of the designs of the Louvre of that period; with the exception of those of Bernini, which were preserved elsewhere, they were lost in 1871 with the entire library of the Louvre, when burned by the Commune. But the most important designs for the Louvre were engraved.

Note 704. The same. Vol. 2. p. 197.

Of the two reasons on which Lance might depend,⁷⁰⁵ to establish Leveau as the designer of the colonnade, not one point is proved by the statement of Boileau. This bears the character

member of the faculty of medicine. As for the second basis, the engraving of A. Herissant must be seriously more than a superficial and hasty work. Of the five statements given by him, three are notoriously false. The two others, even if they were true, would not change the authorship of Herissant. His painted drawings, that I have seen, and which could come neither from David nor from Drouot, were as good as those of hundreds of actual sculptors of the last four centuries, and they showed that Herissant was entirely capable of conceiving giving the forms of the statue in general and in detail, everything that composes the architectural character of this monument. Further, no one has suggested, that as David says, Herissant became from one day to the next, an architect from a painter.

Note 705. See *Revue*, Vol. 2, p. 101.

The "somewhat Gothic" idea of David, that only one who is at the same time a "sculptor", so to speak, deserves the name of architect, is exaggerated, and the Renaissance has extended this. It has recognized that one may be an excellent master in one art and an erect large and substantial building, without having a vestige of an architect within himself. Good artists are then to be seen. And even in the Gothic period, when the office in construction was more necessary than since the Italian Renaissance, there were sculptors, who were much sought after chiefly as designing masters, as may be seen in the works of Michelangelo.

Herissant was a sculptor, and a sculptor of the first rank. He has Herissant's naturally a certain feeling for style, a noble, beautiful proportions. The drawing by which he won in the competition for a triumphal arch over David and Leveau (1793, 1794) likewise proves this. Even if the line of the base of the statue be not entirely free, and the solution of the doorway in the colonnade be ugly, this columnar base, with the tower facade of Notre Dame, then remains the sole architectural monument in Paris, which crosses the impression of the monumental and of the majestic in the higher sense of the word, when one comes from Italy. And Claude Perrault has inconspicuously executed this, and he alone. This

of malice and ignores that Perrault was more than merely a member of the faculty of medicine. As for the second basis, the engraving of A. Herissot must be scarcely more than a superficial and bungling work. Of the five statements given by him, three are notoriously false. The two others, even if they were true, would not change the authorship of Perrault. His burned drawings, that I have seen, and which could come neither from Leveau nor from D'Orbay, were as good as those of hundreds of actual architects of the last four centuries, and they showed, that Perrault was entirely capable of correctly giving the Louvre colonnade in general and in detail, everything that composes the architectural character of this monument. Further, no one has asserted, that as Lance says, Perrault became from one day to the next, an architect from a physician.

Note 705. See Lance. Vol. 2. p. 197.

The "somewhat Gothic" idea of Lance, that only one who is at the same time a "mason", so to speak, deserves the name of architect, is exaggerated, and the Renaissance has extended this. It has recognized that one may be an excellent master mason and can erect large and substantial buildings, without having a vestige of an architect within himself. Such buildings are then to be seen. And even in the Gothic period, where practice in construction was much more necessary than since the Italian Renaissance, there were architects, who were much sought after chiefly as designing masters, as may be seen in the annals of Milan Cathedral.

Composition yet remains a "something" in architecture. Herin has Perrault manifestly a refined feeling for simple, noble, beautiful proportions. The drawing by which he won in the competition for a triumphal arch over Leveau and Lebrun (Figs. 324, 325) likewise proves this. Even if the line of the base of the statue be not entirely freed, and the solution of the doorway in the colonnade be ugly, this columnar facade, with the tower facade of Notre Dame, then remains the sole architectural monument in Paris, which arouses the impression of the monumental and of the majestic in the higher sense of the word, when one comes from Italy. And Claude Perrault has incontestably executed this, and he alone. This

There is also and it suffices for the purpose of an "excursion".

That design was entrusted with the technical execution is

the designer. It is not the case that the design is

sent from the royal academy, that it is referred to a model by

design for another part of the design, as for example the two-

are along the de Rivoli or the new design was the design, vi-

to the extension of which he was still entrusted. It was:--

1868, Jan. 31-- To Saint-Louis, for his complete payment for

the journey work, that he was sent for the model of the full-

ing of the design, of the design of M. de Van -- 318 livres. 708

Note 708. 708. 708. 708. 708. 708. 708. 708. 708. 708.

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1. Jean Marie (born about 1819, died in 1879) from P

Paris is today chiefly known of the great number of architect-

ural designs and constructions, which he engraved chiefly by

himself, partly with his son Daniel and another Marie (Jean

Marcel). These engravings, 700 to 800 plates in all, are

of great value, especially in the case of the designs of the

and the designs of the designs of the designs of the designs

his designs have passed this time.

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fame is his and it suffices for the honor of an "architect".

That Leveau was entrusted with the technical execution is not impossible. It might be deduced from the following payment from the royal accounts, that it referred to a model by Leveau for another part of the Louvre, as for example the facade along Rue de Rivoli or the new facade next the Seine, with the extension of which he was still entrusted. It runs:--

1688, Jan. 9:-- To Saint-Ives, for his complete payment for the joinery work, that he has done for the model of the building of the Louvre, of the design of M. Le Vau -- 819 livres.⁷⁰⁶

Note 709. Gutfrey. Vol. 1. column 185.

427. Jean Marot.

d. Jean Marot (born about 1619, died in 1679) from Paris is today chiefly known by the great number of architectural drawings and compositions, which he engraved partly by himself, partly with his son Daniel and another Marot (Jean Baptiste). These engravings, 700 to 800 plates in at least 30 series, form the "Oeuvre de Jean Marot", from which numerous illustrations have been taken for this volume. Many of his series have neither title nor date.

By these works Marot becomes, with Du Cerceau, A. Bosse, Le Pautre and Israel Sylvestre, one of the most important sources for the study of French architecture. We owe to him the knowledge of many vanished architectural works, of which he gives accurate drawings (for example, the Mausoleum of the Valois; Figs. 21, 44, 45, 197). From some of his engravings Destailleur conjectures, that Jean Marot went to Italy, perhaps with Philippon, who was a cabinet-maker, like Marot's father. Jean Marot's wife was also the daughter of a cabinet-maker, Galbrand.

In the year 1669, Jean Marot bore the title of architect of the king and dwelt in Rue Guisarde in the faugourg S. Germain-des-Pres. In this year and in 1670, we see him construct various grottos at the Chateau S. Germain-en-Laye.⁷⁰⁷

Note 707. Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francaise. 1877. p.168.

The following works in Paris are attributed to him:-- Hotels de Pussort, de Montemart, that of the Cologne banker and art collector Jabach (de Jabba) in Paris, whose first design is represented in Figs. 5 and 309, de France Monceaux, also Chat-

[illegible]

Chateaus de Turny in Burgundy and Lavardin in Maine, the baths of the Chateau at Maisons, and finally the former facade of Church des Feuillantines at Paris.

Marot's design for the principal facade of the Louvre shows in contrast to most other designs two orders in the court as well as externally; it was conceived more in the style of French chateaus and manifests a very skilful architect.⁷⁰⁸

Note 7⁰⁸. Illustrated in Blondel, J. P. Cours d'Architecture. Paris. 1771-1777. Vol. 3. Plate 67.

We must here limit ourselves to mentioning the titles of the following literary works.

a. According to Destailleur, his earliest dated engraving was of 1640, being the Representation de la Sepulture du Marquis de Rostaing.

b. Recueil de plusieurs portes des principaux hostels et maisons de la Ville de Paris etc. 1644. 16 Pls.

c. Desseins de toutes les parties de l'église Saint-Pierre de Rome. Measured accurately on the spot by Jacques Zarade, architect and engraver of the king in the year 1659. 13 Pls.

d. Recueil des plus beaux edifices et frontispieces des eglises de Paris, dedicated to Henri de Harlay etc. 34 Pls.

e. Le magnifique Chasteau de Richelieu. 34 Pls.

f. Architecture Francaise de Jean Marot. Without title. 195 Pls. On the index stands; Table of contents of the plates of M. Marot, father and son.

A second edition appeared by P. Mariette in 1727, the last edition from very work plates being by Jombert in 1751.

g. Recueil des Plans, Profils et Elevations de plusieurs palais, chasteaux, eglises, sepultures, grottes & hostels, bastis dans Paris & aux environs par les meilleurs architectes du royaume -- desseignes, mesures & graves par Jean Marot, architecte parisien. 112 Pls.

h. Marot, Jean. Architecte et Graveur. Petite Oeuvre d'Architecture. Paris. 1764. 50 Pls.

Most of the illustrations in this volume taken from Marot belong to the works mentioned under f and g. By the impossibility of designating their places therein accurately, we must be satisfied with referring to the two volumes H a 7c and H a 7d, designated in the Paris Cabinet des Estampes as "Oeu-

"JOHN PAUL DE SUTHER"

[illegible]

151-151 800

[illegible]

NOTE 7.1. Commission of Dr. King to Detail Four. See

This is sometimes better than all other cases.
and his work, etc., is not sufficiently appreciated, and thus
the interest in it is small, and he is often overlooked.

as this and suggests, that the value of Marot's compositions
elements, just as did Stefano della Bella. Constatant says
age of several of Marot's series, especially in the future

1910 1911

3. Daniel Warner (born about 1880, died after 1918) was a son of John Warner and possibly the father of the present firm. The firm of Daniel Warner, which we have designated as the group of Berrin-Daniel Warner (AT 821). In

and others; all in favor of thus applying themselves to the
 at the University, Cambridge, England, 1854-1855.
 as III, King of Great Britain, containing several ideas re-
 Note VII. See Genesis in St. G. Morot, "Notes of Will-

"Oeuvre de Jean Marot".

These volumes also contain a number of J. Marot's compositions, as for example the first and unexecuted design for Hotel Jabbach in Paris (Figs. 5, 309), also ideal buildings,⁷⁰⁹ a series of "new designs" made for alcoves and engraved by J. Marot". A series of fireplaces with the statement, "design of Jean Marot". These series are preliminary steps to Jean Lepautre, and otherwise contain distant reminiscences of Du Cerceau.

Note 709. Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. Vol. H a 7c, folios 127-129.

In a series of tombs composed by Marot, one would believe that certain figures were by Du Cerceau.⁷¹⁰ Besides other grounds, the friendship may be considered, which existed between the father of Marot and the grandson of Jacques Du Cerceau. A sister of Marot had in 1623 a Du Cerceau (Jean ?) as god parents with the daughter of Charles Du Ry.⁷¹¹

Note 710. Same, folios 106 to 117.

Note 711. Communication of Ch. Bead to Destailleur. See the latter's Notices etc. p. 131.

On the other hand, the connection with Le Pautre is likewise explained more fully, in that he took part in the engravings of several of Marot's series, especially in the figure elements, just as did Stefano della Bella. Destailleur states this and suggests, that the value of Marot's compositions for interior decoration, such as ceilings, doors, vases, locksmith's work, etc. is not sufficiently appreciated, and that this is sometimes better than at all other times.

428. Daniel Marot.

e. Daniel Marot (born about 1660, died after 1718) was a son of Jean Marot and probably his pupil. Starting in ornament from the tendency of Jean Lepautre, he contributed to its change in the direction of the masters, which we have designated as the group of Berain-Daniel Marot. (Art 331). In architecture itself, his tendency was much more severe and comparable with that of Salomon de Brosse. (Art. 409). We can judge of it chiefly by his engraved compositions alone.⁷¹²

Note 712. See Oeuvres du Sr. D. Marot, "architect of William III, King of Great Britain, containing several ideas useful to architects, painters, sculptors, goldsmiths, gardeners and others; all in favor of thus applying themselves to the

fine arts." Hague, no date (about 1712). Republished in facsimile by P. Jessen; Das Ornamentenwerk des Daniel Marot, copied in 264 photographures. Berlin. 1892.

After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he left France and became famous by his works and publications as architect of William III in England. The design of the gardens at Hampton Court in England came from him. He worked in Holland on the new Palace of Loo and on the great audience hall at the Hague.

Destailleur gives details concerning his various works as engraver, and regards his emigration as a great loss for French architecture. (Art. 409).

429. Jules Hardouin Mansart.

f. Jules Hardouin Mansart, called Mansart or Mansard, (born at Paris Apr. 16, 1646, died May 11, 1708), was the son of Raphael Hardouin and of Marie Gaultier, of a niece of Francois Mansart and a grandson of his sister. He was a pupil of his great uncle, taking his name after his death. He worked under Liberal Bruant on Hotel de Vendome, when Louis XIV entrusted to him the preparation of the plans for the only later erected Chateau of Clagny for Madame de Montespan. Hardouin Mansart understood more and more how to secure the favor of the king, rose to ever higher offices, even to the rank of count, and he was entrusted with such a great number of important buildings, that aside from the Louvre and the beginning of Versailles, he might be considered as the personification of architectural activity under Louis XIV. He died so suddenly at the age of but 63 years, that men spoke of poisoning.

The following survey of his architectural works is given according to Lance.

1674, he undertook important works of enlargement of Chateau of S. Germain.

1675, he erected the Hotel-de-Ville at Arles.

1676, he began work on Chateau of Clagny near Versailles, whose main building was completed in 1679. In this period also falls the erection of the little Chateau de la Menagerie at Versailles.

1679-1685, he erected the stables at Versailles.

1679, he commenced the buildings of the pleasure Chateau of Marly.

...the ... of this year, the ...
...of the principal ... of the Palace at Versailles
...probably completed. In this time likewise falls the ...
...the ground story and the official dwellings above them.
1660 (about), Harcourt became the second ... of the Hotel
...1662, he was ...
...1664, he ...
...1664-1668, he ... the Place des Victoires at Paris.
1666, with Jacques Gabriel, he commenced the bridge Pont
Royal at Paris.
...1668, he built for Duke de Bouillon the ... of Navarre
...1668, he ...
1668, he enlarged the Palace Royal at Paris by the Gallery
d'Orléans, painted by Goussier, which gave way to the present Ter-
race d'Orléans.
1668-1670, he ...
of the Cathedral at Orleans.
1668, he ...
was made knight of the order of St. Michael.
1668, he built the ... at Versailles, and about the same
time the ... of Bouilliers.
1668, he constructed at St. Cloud the lower part of the ...
at cascade, and ornamented the ... of the ...
1668, Jan. 7, in order to do him greater honor, the king ...
...1668, he ...
...1668, he ...
on ... of ...
...1668, he ...
...1668, he ...
...1668, he ...

1680, according to a memorial medal of this year, the rebuilding of the principal facade of the Palace at Versailles was probably completed. In this time likewise falls the building of the great Commons at Versailles with the kitchens in the ground story and the officials dwellings above them.

1680 (about), Hardouin began the second Church of the Hotel des Invalids, the real principal church with the dome.

1683, he was ennobled.

1684, he began the Church of Notre Dame at Versailles, finished in two years.

1684-1686, he executed the Place des Victoires at Paris.

1685, with Jacques Gabriel, he commenced the bridge Pont Royal at Paris.

1685-1686, he erected the buildings of S. Cyr near Versailles. He was at the same time entrusted with the construction of Place Louis-le-Grand, now Vendome. He was appointed first architect of the king.

1686, he built for duke de Bouillon the Chateau of Navarre near Evreux.

1688, he began the Grand Trianon near Versailles.

1692, he enlarged the Palace Royal at Paris by the Gallery d'Ence, painted by Coypel, which gave way to the present Theatre Francais.

1690-1707, he executed the roodscreen and the central spire of the Cathedral at Orleans.

1693, after the completion of the dome of the Invalids, he was made knight of the order of S. Michael.

1698, he built the Chateau at Vanvres, and about the same time the Chateau of Boufflers.

1699, he constructed at S. Cloud the lower part of the great cascade, and ornamented the stairs of the chateau.

1699, Jan. 7, in order to do him greater honor, the king transferred to him the office of superintendent of buildings, that Colbert and later Louvois had held.

1699, he began the Chapel of the Palace of Versailles, which Robert de Cotte finished.

1700, in January, he was called to Nancy to give advice to the duke of Lorraine for the beautifying of the Palace and gardens. About the same time (1699?), he began the so-called "Vow of Louis XIII", by which was understood the decorati-

decoration of the choir of Notre Dame at Paris. This extended to the pavement, the choir stalls, and several statues about the altar of the choir space, and it in part still remains.

In the park of Versailles, the two last so-called "Groves of the Colonnade" and of the Dome", later called "Bath of Apollo," were by Hardouin Mansart.

1702, he built the new facade of the Hotel-de-Ville at Lyons instead of the one injured by fire. Robert de Cotte superintended the building.

He built in Paris Hotel Fleubet (on Quay des Celestins), that of Reick de Penantier, and the high altar of the Convent of Filles-Bien. He erected in the province the Chateau of Luneville for the duke, and those of Chamarande, of Villout, and of Pinon; the statement, that he built that of Blerancourt near Blois, is indeed based on a twofold error in Lance. (Art. 396). He completed Chateau Monfrin, built various things at the Chateau at Chambord, and placed roofs over several of its terraces. In the Archbishop's Palace at Rouen, he constructed a court gateway and the principal stairway, and the bishop's Palace in Castres, not the Hotel-de-Ville.

Mansart prepared for himself a house in Rue des Tournelles at Paris, as well as a Hotel in Rue de la Pompe (nos. 35 and 37) at Versailles; further the Chateau of Sagonne, where he received the visit of the king. He received from Louis XIV the following titles:-- "councillor of the king, chevalier of S. Michel, count de Sagonne, Baron de Jouy, Seigneur de Neuilly, of Augy-sur-Bois, Chateau-sur-Allier, Vende etc."⁷¹³. In the Chapter on the standing of architects will be found the series of offices conferred upon him.

⁷¹³. Concerning the authority coming to him as a nobleman, see *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais*. 1882. p. 131.

Hardouin, as it appears, first built at the Chateau at Clagny and at the stables at Versailles the mansard roofs named after him.

J. Hardouin Mansart had a brother, who was only called Michel Hardouin. We find him designated in 1684 as "architect of the buildings of the king". He married Nicole Genevieve Nanteuil, daughter of the famous Robert Nanteuil, "designer and engraver in ordinary to the king".⁷¹⁴

Note 714. See the preceding. 1879. p. 248.

B. Other Masters.

480. Other Masters.

g. Antoine Bergeron, "sworn of the masonrys of the king", took part in 1660 in the superintendence of Chateau Vaux-le-Vicomte.

h. Austine de Bordeuse (or Bordeaux), as Lance writes and according to the statement of Stocqueler, erected the famous Taj-Mahal near Agra. Shah Jehan had him build apparently within 22 years the mausoleum of his favorite wife Nourjehan, (Moomtaza Mahal ?), who died in 1645. If this authorship be true, then would it be the strangest contradiction of Palustre's theory, than in France, only whatever is built entirely in the Italian style, could be the work of Italians. The Taj is entirely executed in the Indian-Persian and not in the French style. ⁷¹⁵

Note 715. According to W. Emerson, one must probably see there the work of an Italian. (See Trans. R. I. B. A. 1869-1870. p. 195; 1883-1884. p. 155.)

i. Charles Etienne Briseux (born 1660 at Beaune-les-Dames, died Sept. 23, 1754) built the Hotel d'Angny at Paris.

He published the following works:-- Architecture Moderne, or the Art of building well (Paris, 1728); also L'Art de bastir des Maisons de Campagne (Paris, 1743); further, Traite du Beau essentiel dans les Arts, more particularly applied to Architecture. (Paris. 1752).

k. The brothers Bruand, the elder brother Jacques (son of Sebastian Bruand, "general of the royal buildings, b bridges and roads of France") was "architect of the buildings of the king and of the duke of Orleans".⁷¹⁶ His works are, the House or Office of the Cloth Dealers at Paris (Fig. 61), and the Jabach House at Cologne, and further the Chateau at Fayelle. He died on Sept. 7, 1664 at Paris. His son Jacques (1663-1752) was likewise an architect.

Note 716. In the notice of Sebastian Bruand, Lance gives the latter title to Sebastian also, but not to his son.

Liberal, the younger brother (born about 1637) died on Nov. 22, 1697, as "squire, councillor secretary of the king, the house, crown of France and of its finances, architect in ord-

ordinary of the buildings of his majesty". By him are in 1671 the plans of Hotel des Invalids and of the first Church (the one behind the domed structure); the Chapel of the Salpetriere, the Hotels de Matignon and de Belle-Isle, and the Palace of the duke of York at Richmond. He had a son Francois.

l. Pierre Bullet (born about 1639, died 1716), pupil of Francois I Blondel, superintended for him the building of Gate S. Denis at Paris and erected the Gates S. Martin and S. Bernard from his own designs.

There are by him in church buildings the Church S. Thomas d'Aquin at Paris, and the Church of Dominicans Reforme; also the altar of Church Sorbonne, and two chapels in the transept of S. Germain-des-Pres belong here.

Of secular buildings are to be mentioned:-- the Hotel of the banker Jabach, Rue Neuve-Saint-Merry at Paris, Hotel Crozat (Fig. 284) and that of Count d'Evreux, Place Vendome, both in Paris; Chateau at Issy, and the front portion of the archbishop's Palace at Bourges etc.

As architect of the king and of the city of Paris, he published in 1676 the Plan of Paris in 12 sheets. We further find mentioned as publications, L'Architecture Pratique (Paris, 1691); Traite sur l'Usage du Pantometre (Paris, 1675); Observations sur la mauvais odeur des fosses d'aisance (Paris, 1696). He was member of the Academie d'Architecture after 1685.

m. Francois Carlier sojourned in 1712-1715 in Spain in order to execute works after the designs of Robert de Cotte, which were the gardens of Buen-Retiro and of the Palace of Madrid, in the latter the great Cabinet of the Furies; under Ferdinand VI, he built in Madrid, the Convent of S. Francois de Salles.

n. Jean-Sylvain Cartaud (born in 1675 at Paris, died there on Feb. 15, 1758) was after 1742 member of the Academy and architect of the duke of Orleans and Berri. He executed the facade of the Church of Petits-Peres (1739) and the Church of Barnabites at Paris, also the Hotels Duchatel and Crozat at Paris (Rue de Montmorency), lastly the Chateaus of Montmorency (1708) for Pierre Crozat, and of Bournonville, as well as the country house of D'Argenson in Neuilly.

o. Cayart built in 1701-1705 the French Church at Ber-

Berlin; he used as a model the Temple at Charenton, but changed to two internal orders instead of a single colossal one. (Fig. 209).

p. Roland Freart, Sieur de Chambray (born at Chambray, died in 1675) was sent to Italy in 1640 to obtain Italian masters for France, and he brought Poussin back to Paris (Art. 277). He published in 1650 his "Parallèle de l'Architecture Antique avec la Moderne, with a collection of ten principal authors, who have written on the five orders", and he translated the Treatise on Painting of Leonardo da Vinci.

q. Chamois worked toward the end of the 17th century. For Louvois, he built the Hotel in Rue Richelieu and Chateau at Chaville near Paris; further the Monastery of the Visitation in Faubourg S. Germain at Paris, and the Convent of the Benedictine Nuns at Ville-Leveque. etc.

r. Cordemoy published in 1714 a Treatise on Theoretical and Practical Architecture.

s. Cottard built in Paris about the middle of the 17th century the Hotel de Bizeuil, known as Hotel de Hollande (Rue du Temple), also the Chapel and the Hospital de la Merci (Rue du Chaume), which Boffrand completed. He published 6 plates of "New Designs of joining wainscoting with panels of glass", and he was also architect of the king.

t. Jean Courtonne (born at Paris in 1671), after 1728 in the Academy, became in 1730 professor as successor of Bruand (son) and was architect of the king. He built the Hotels de Noirmoutiers (1720) and Matignon (1721) at Paris; also for the Carthusians there (Rue d'Enfer). He published in 1725 at Paris his "Traite de la Perspective pratique, avec Remarques sur l'Architecture etc."

u. Charles Augustin Daviler or D'Aviler (1658-2700) was the author of the well known "Cours d'Architecture" (Paris, 1691), which survived many later editions, and in which he used the counsels of Dorbay. On the way to Rome, he was in 1674 with Desgodetz captured by pirates from Tunis, where he was held captive for two years and built a mosque. Both reached Rome in 1676, where Daviler remained five years. Employed at first under Mansart, he went in 1691 to Montpellier to erect a triumphal arch after the drawings of Dorbay, and

he remained at work in that vicinity until his early death.

He built the bishop's Palace at Beziers and the archbishop's at Toulouse, also various works in Carcassonne, Saint-Pons, Toulouse and Nîmes. He likewise published a translation of Scamozzi as a "Traite des Cinq Ordres".

v. Delamare (died 1745) built after 1697 for Prince de Soubise the present Hotel des Archives Nationales with the beautiful court; he also erected Hotel de Pompadour in Rue Grenelle-Saint-Germain at Paris.

w. Girard Desargues (born at Lyons) built about 1660 a great stairway in Palace Royal at Paris and that of Hotel Aubey, which were esteemed the most convenient in Paris. He also executed the stairway in Hotel of marquis de l'Hopital.

x. Antoine Desgodetz (1653-1728) in 1674 was captured by pirates on the way to Rome with D'Aviler and Foy-Vaillant. He is chiefly known by his work "Les Edifices Antiques de Rome" very accurately measured and drawn. (Paris, 1682). This was long esteemed, and is still so by some, as the best source for the knowledge of the old monuments of Rome, and it was produced at the order of Colbert. Desgodetz seems to have built little, but he published several other works, whose titles are to be found in Lance.

y. Claude Desgots, nephew of Le Notre, was likewise a landscape architect. He designed in England for the royal gardens, designed the garden of Palace Royal in Paris, and in its vicinity the parks of Bagnolet and of S. Maur. He went to Rome in the year 1675 as a pensioner. He rebuilt later Chateau Periguy in Burgundy and a monumental stairway in the Chateau at Anet.

z. Francois Dorbay, also d'Orbay (died 1697), was pupil and son-in-law of Leveau. He superintended the latter's work at the Louvre, at the Tuileries, and at the College des Quatre Nations. Besides various churches and monasteries in Paris and Lyons, he built the Hotel des Comediens Francais in Paris, and the Chenil-Neuf (Dog-kennel) in Fontainebleau. Since its foundation, he was member of the Academie d'Architecture.

His son (1679-1742), likewise member of the Academie, was "Comptroller of the buildings of the king". Another Dorbay,

royal country house in the vicinity of the latter.

[illegible]

son or nephew of the latter, received in 1739 the Grand Prix d'Architecture.

aa. Albert Dupave, in 1696 with the sculptor Fleury, was entrusted with the decoration of the facade of the Cathedral of Toulon. In the year 1713, he had to work for the duke of Savoy. He designed the gardens of the Palace of Victor Amadeus in Turin, and must also have designed La Veneria, the royal country house in the vicinity of the latter.

bb. Charles Errard, painter and architect (born in 1606 at Nantes, died in 1689 at Rome), was from 1666 to 1673 and from 1676 to 1683 Director of the French Academy in Rome; at 18 years of age, he went to Italy for the first time. He sent from thence in 1670 the plans for the Church of the Assumption in Paris. He executed the following internal decorations; in 1655 works in the apartments of the queen mother in the Louvre, 1666, in Palace of Parliament at Rennes, the great hall of audience and the great chamber; 1657, those of the theatre in the Tuileries; 1661 and 1662, various works in Versailles, and earlier the gallery of Chateau Dangu near Gisors. He participated in the works of de Chambray (Art. 430 p) and executed the plates for them.

cc. Pierre Francine. (Art. 386).

dd. Daniel Gittard ⁷¹⁷ (born Mar. GL, 1625 at Blandy, died Dec. 15, 1686) was son of Jean a carpenter, had a brother Pierre, who worked in Vaux, and several other brothers, who were master masons in Paris. Daniel built in Paris the beautiful Hotel de Saint-Simon, that of la Meilleraie, and the still preserved House of the composer Lulli with great composite pilasters and sculptures. (Corner of streets of S. Anne and of Petits-Champs). He had an important part in the building of Church S. Sulpice in Paris, and he was the fourth of the eight architects, who at the founding of the Academy of Architecture by Colbert on Dec. 31, 1671, were invited into it.

Note 717. Archives de l'Art Français, Documents. Vol. 6. (1858-1860). p. 87.

ee. Gabriel-Philippe de la Hire (born 1697) prepared the design for the pulpit of S. Etienne-du-Mont at Paris, and under Vauban, he superintended the building of the Aqueduct

of Maitre. He was son of Jean de Maitre (died 1598).

11. Antoine Leveau (born Jan. 1681 at Paris, died

Feb. 2, 1752) was architect of the king and "comptroller gen-
eral of buildings" of the duke of Orleans. His principal wor-
ks are Palais de Beausart (Paris, 1700, 1701), with fine court-
yard, de Beausart, de Beausart, de Beausart, de Beausart, de Beausart,
and in Paris, Hotel des Gardes in Versailles, and Hotel de la
Garde in St. Germain; two wings of the former Chateau in St.

Cloud, and the upper part of the facade and Chateau St. Ger-
main Paris. His designs for Chateau de Versailles were not accepted,
and new plans were prepared by J. B. Mansart. Of common build-
ings, there are by him the Chateau of Fort-Royal, and the de-
sign (1697) for the facade of Chateau de Beausart at Lyons.

12. Simon Marot was architect and surveyor of the

city of Lyons. He shall return to him on the occasion of re-
nouncing the Hotel-de-Ville of that city, begun in 1646.

13. Pierre Mignard, nephew of the painter of the same
name, was born in 1640 at Avignon. His chief work is the Ap-
bay of Montemayour near Arles. He built in Paris Gate St. Mi-
chel and the facade of the College St. Nicolas. He was profes-
sor at the Academy of St. Louis in 1675 and died in 1725.

14. Armand Claude Wolff (died 1720) was grandson of
the famous landscape artist Claude. Like his father Claude-
es, he was also master of the facade of the Louvre. He built
it in Paris the Hotel of the count of Arques, later Palais St.
Alvise, Hotel de Harcourt, superintended the reconstruction of
Hotel de Beausart, and erected Chateau de Beausart near St. Germain.

Note 118. See Chapter on Design of Gardens concerning him.

15. De Nolville, a pupil of J. B. Mansart, built in

1693 at Lyons the Place Royale, and began there the Chateau St.
Germain; he commenced there in 1697 the facade of the great
hall in the Hospital.

16. Fredot erected in 1675 for J. B. Mansart the Hot-
el de Place des Victoires at Paris, according to the contour
of St. Germain, 1675, with the addition of the city. At the
inauguration of the statue of the king (Mar. 15, 1688), the

houses were not completed.

17. Pierre Puget (born in 1622 at Salon near Marseille,
died there in 1694) was at the same time sculptor, painter

of Maintenon. He was son of Jean La Hire. (Art. 389 h).

ff. Antoine Lepautre (born Jan. 1621 at Paris, died Feb. 2, 1682) was architect of the king and "comptroller general of buildings" of the duke of Orleans. His principal works are Hotels de Beauvais (Figs. 280, 281), with fine court design), de Gesvres, de Chamillart, de la Seigliere de Boisfranc in Paris, Hotel des Gardes in Versailles, and Hotel de L. Lauzun in S. Germain; two wings of the former Chateau in S. Cloud, and the upper part of the cascade and Chateau S. Ouen near Paris. His designs for Chateau Clagny were not accepted, and new plans were prepared by J. H. Mansart. Of church buildings, there are by him the Church of Port-Royal, and the design (1657) for the facade of Church of Jacobins at Lyons.

gg. Simon Maupin was architect and surveyor of the city of Lyons. We shall return to him on the occasion of mentioning the Hotel-de-Ville of that city, begun in 1646.

hh. Pierre Mignard, nephew of the painter of the same name, was born in 1640 at Avignon. His chief work is the Abbey of Montmayours near Arles. He built in Paris Gate S. Michel and the facade of the College S. Nicolas. He was professor as well as member of the Academy from its foundation and died in 1725.

ii. Armand Claude Mollet (died 1720) was grandson of the famous landscape artist Claude.⁷¹⁸ Like his father Charles, he was also master of the gardens of the Louvre. He built in Paris the Hotel of the count of Evreux, later Palace E. Elysee, Hotel de Humieres, superintended the rebuilding of H Hotel de Mazarin, and erected Chateau Stains near S. Denis.

Note 718. See Chapter on Designs of Gardens concerning him.

kk. De Noinville, a pupil of J. H. Mansart, built in 1688 at Dijon the Place Royale, and began there the Church S. Etienne; he commenced there in 1697 the facade of the great hall in the Hospital.

ll. Predot erected in 1685 for J. H. Mansart the Houses of Place des Victoires at Paris, according to the contract of Sept. 12, 1685, with the aldermen of the city. At the inauguration of the statue of the king (Mar. 18, 1686), the houses were not completed.

mm. Pierre Puget (born in 1622 at Seon near Marseilles, died there in 1694) was at the same time sculptor, painter

... was the decoration of ships with Goussier
... the type of which he established
... built by him in 1848-1849.
Note 118. If the last statement and date be correct, and
which are derived from Herrt's work, he began this ship at a
age of only 21 years.
... of Toulon, whose activities suggest a battery with the energy
of Marseilles (1855-1857). Not easily understood is the
statement of Goussier, that Goussier remained seven years (1858-1860)
for constructing the high altar of Church St. Peter in Geneva.
The renovation of the city of Marseilles undertaken in 1868
was influenced by him. There is extent a design by him for
since Goussier there and for the Hotel-de-Ville. He built in
1878-1879 the Palais de la Botanique at de la Commercie, si-
... the Hotel d'Aigues-les-Bains. He built in Aix at about this time the Hotel d'Aigues-
... his own house in Toulon in 1878.
... in 1885-1886 the erection of one facade of the Monastery at
Goussier, after the design of his father. Robert Goussier built
the foundation thereof in 1887, but was required by Robert
on account of his slowness.
... Ferdinand de Saint-Jean (born June 30, 1883 at
... from 1898 to 1906, with several interruptions, he con-
at the principal Church of Saint-Jean.
... famous engineer, fortification engineer and marshal, likewise
eligible advice to those desiring to build, especially con-
of Marseilles, which La Hire erected under his supervision. The
... Note 120. Plancher's Marseilles houses a Goussier born four
... from this in Plancher's Biogeo-

and architect, and he went to Italy about 1640. A specialty, that made him famous, was the decoration of ships with double galleries, figures and reliefs, the type of which he established in the Ship La Hire, built by him in 1643-1646.⁷¹⁹

Note 719. If the last statement and date be correct, and which are derived from Henri Martin, he began this ship at an age of only 21 years.

Not less famous was Puget for the gateway of Hotel-de-Ville of Toulon, whose atlantes support a balcony with the energy of Michelangelo (1655-1657). Not easily understood is the statement of Lance, that Puget required seven years (1663-1670) for constructing the high altar of Church S. Sero in Genoa.

The renovation of the city of Marseilles undertaken in 1668 was influenced by him. There is extant a design by him for Place Royale there and for the Hotel-de-Ville. He built in 1672-1674 the Halle de la Poissonnerie et de la Boucherie, also in 1675 the facade of Church Carthusians, both at Marseilles. He built in Aix at about this time the Hotel d'Aiguilles, and in 1679 the Chapel of Hospital Charite. He erected his own house in Toulon in 1672.

nn. Alexander Richard, a Jacobin monk, superintended in 1658-1676 the erection of the facade of his Monastery at Lyons, after the design of Le Pautre. Robert Rogier built the foundation thereof in 1657, but was replaced by Richard on account of his slowness.

oo. Ferdinand de Saint-Urbain (born June 30, 1658 at Nancy, died there Jan. 11, 1738) lived 10 years in Bologna and 20 years in Rome, was chiefly employed as a metal engraver. From 1703 to 1726, with several interruptions, he erected the principal Church of Pont-a-Mousson.

pp. Sebastien le Pautre de Vauban (1633-1707), the famous engineer, fortification engineer and marshal, likewise deserves mention here. To him is due gratitude for very intelligible advice to those desiring to build, especially country houses.⁷²⁰ By him was the design for the great Aqueduct of Maintenon, which La Hire erected under his supervision. The magnificent proportions of the arches show a very sensitive master.

Note 720. Plusieurs Maximes bonnes a Observer pour tous ceux qui font batir. Extract from this in Planat's Encyclo-

Encyclopedie. Paris. 1823. Vol. 8, p. 685 et seq. Art. Vauban.

qq. In conclusion, we mention from Lance the following names without entering into further details concerning them:-- Francois Auger (1696), Barthelemy (1688), Jean Beaussiere (died 1743), Antoine Bergeran (1660), Bernard Blanc (1692), Jean de Bodt (1670-1745), and Nicolas Bourgeois (1711), an Augustine monk.

In Lorraine are found Andre, first architect of the duke (1707), Beteau (1698-1716), and Pierre Benedict, first architect of duke Leopold (1700).

4. Masters of the last Time of Louis XIV, of the Regency, and of Louis XV.

A. Famous Masters.

431. Robert de Cotte.

a. Robert de Cotte (1656-1735) was indeed the most important architect of the last ten years of the reign of Louis XIV, and then of the Regency. Even the development of the Regency style is ascribed to him. (Art. 335). His influence also extended to foreign countries. The list of offices and dignities, which fell to him, gives ⁷²¹ an idea of the high position that he attained. He was therein scarcely inferior to his predecessor, J. H. Mansart, whose pupil and brother-in-law he was.

Note 721. De Cotte was "Chevalier of S. Michel, councillor of the king in his councils, first architect, intendant of buildings and of construction, gardens, arts and manufactures of his majesty, Director of the Royal Academy of Architecture, Vice Protector of the Academies of Painting and Sculpture". (See Destoilleux, H. Notices etc. p. 212)

Robert was god-son of Francois I Cotte, who took part in the siege of Rochelle as engineer, and son of Francois II, who published in 1644 a book on the five orders, and was architect in ordinary to the king.

Of his architectural creations, the following may be mentioned, according to Lance.

In Paris:-- Hotels d'Estrees, de Bourbon-gonde (1716), later belonging to the duke de Maine, de Lude in Rue du Bac, de Meulan near the Capuchins, the House in Rue du Bac beside the Hotel de Belle-Isle. Also by him was the enlargement of Hot-

well as some of the great Italian, where the occasion is by
of the Palace Chapel of his brother-in-law at Versailles, as
after the design of J. F. Mansart, and lastly the completion
Notre Dame, and east of the Novitiate of the Jesuits, both a
the Church of the Gracery, the high altar of the Cathedral

Outside Paris, there are by de Goblet, the architect's name
at Verdun and Germany, and the bishop's country house
near Lyon, Place Louis XIV in Lyons, now Bellevue (1908),
the grain magazine, the facade of a concert hall,
and the design for the tower of the Hotel-de-Ville (1908).
The architect's work in 1908 is known as the "Year of
the Architect". The following year gives the follow-
ing list of his works: "The Year of the Architect".
and Durrant (how much of this statement is correct will not
be investigated here); Durrant for the Bishop of Savoy,
the architect's work in 1908 is known as the "Year of the
Architect". The following year gives the follow-
ing list of his works: "The Year of the Architect".

Hotel de la Vrilliere for the count of Toulouse, with the famous golden gallery (Figs. 64, 355; also Art. 328); also the enlargement of the Library Royale in Paris, now Library Nationale; further the completion of Church S. Roch, whose facade (Fig. 170) was not only built by his son; also the facade of the Church of the Oratory, the high altar of the Cathedral Notre Dame, and that of the Novitiate of the Jesuits, both after the design of J. H. Mansart, and lastly the completion of the Palace Chapel of his brother-in-law at Versailles, as well as that of the Grand Trianon, where the portico is by him.

Outside Paris, there are by de Cotte: the archbishop's palaces at Verdun and Strasburg, and the bishop's country house Frascoati near Metz, Place Louis XIV in Lyons, now Bellcour (1728), the grain magazines, the facade of a concert hall, and the design for the tower of the Hotel-de-Ville (Fig. 306); for Bordeaux he furnished in 1728 the design for the decoration of Place Royale executed by Gabriel. Robert de Cotte also worked much for foreign countries; Lance gives the following designs or executed works, mentioned after d'Argenville and Dussieux (how much of this statement is correct will not be investigated here); Chateaus for the Elector of Bavaria, for counts Zinzendorf (in Vienna ?) and Hanau; also Poppothe-Elector of Cologne, Palaces in Bonn, Brühl, Poppelsdorf and Godesberg, then the chapel of the archbishop's Seminary in Bonn; finally designs for the Royal Palaces in Madrid and Buen-Retiro, as well as for several chateaus of the duke of Savoy, especially for that at Rivoli.

Eight volumes of original drawings and sketches by Robert de Cotte are preserved in the Cabinet des Estampes at Paris. ⁷²²

Note 722. Concerning their contents, see Destailleur, p. 212 et seq.

Jules Robert de Cotte (1683-1767), son of Robert, likewise an architect, completed several works by his father and was his successor as general intendant of the royal buildings.

432. Jacques Jules Gabriel.

b. Jacques Jules Gabriel (1667-1742), son of Jacques II of the same name, ⁷²³ godson of Maurice I (1631), architect of the tower of the Church at Argentan and great grandson of Jacques I, who in 1607 began the new Hotel-de-Ville at Rouen,

should not be known too much into detail by the time of his
own son Jacques-André, the architect of the Palace of Brissac in
12 corners in Paris. After the death of Robert de Cotte, he
continued to work for the king and the king's son.

at even in 1708.
Note 128. On Jacques II Gabriel in the years 1684-1685, a
see however also the *L'Art de l'Architecture*, 1876, p. 818-- and
for the other architects, see below.

is seen in the following series of positions.
1685, he was received into the Academy of Architecture.
1705, he was "contrôleur de l'intérieur" of the Palace of
Versailles.

1715, "first architect of the prince and roads of the realm."
1725, knight of the order of St. Michel.
1735, "comptroller of the buildings of the king."
1744 or 1745, he became "first architect of the king."
1757, "inspecteur général of the royal buildings."

to mention that in 1757 he was named "inspecteur général
des bâtiments de France" and in 1758, "inspecteur général
des bâtiments de France". It is difficult to accept, that an architect like him,
who was already in 1735 "comptroller of the interior of the
Palace of Versailles", and who was named after 1735 "first
architect of the king", should have exercised no determining
influence on the internal decoration of the Palace at Versail-
les, but have left the designing thereof to Verelst and Ro-
mand.

Note 129. In reply to my inquiry concerning the P. de
Mollet stated to me, that he also conjectured, that Gabriel
at least designed the principal arrangement of the decoration.
(see notes 129-131 and Art. 328).

The chief works of Gabriel are the following.
In Paris:-- the Hotel des Capucins des Capucins (1705), born-
ed the Prince de Conti; the Hotel de Morny on the Rive Gauche
at Versailles, as well as the College de Navarre. In Paris:
-- the Hotel de la Bourbe and de la Bourbe, which were
-- the Hotel de la Bourbe and de la Bourbe, which were
-- the Hotel de la Bourbe and de la Bourbe, which were
-- the Hotel de la Bourbe and de la Bourbe, which were
of the Cathedral of Orleans and of La Rochelle; finally the

should not be thrown too much into shadow by the fame of his own son Jacques-Ange, the builder of the Palaces on Place de la Concorde in Paris. After the death of Robert de Cotte, he manifestly occupied the first place in Paris. He was ennobled even in 1709.

Note 723. On Jacques II Gabriel in the years 1684-1688, see *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 1876, p. 316-- and for the other Gabriels, see Lonce.

We see him in the following series of positions.

1699, he was received into the Academy of Architecture.

1709, he was "comptroller of the interior" of the Palace of Versailles.

1716, "first engineer of the bridges and roads of the realm."

1722, knight of the order of S. Michel.

1730, "comptroller of the buildings of the king".

1734 or 1735, he became "first architect of the king".

1737, "inspector general of the royal buildings".

To Jacques Jules Gabriel are ascribed important decorative works in the chateaus of Versailles, Marly, Meudon and Chambord. It is difficult to accept, that an architect like him, who was already in 1709 "comptroller of the interior of the Palace of Versailles", and who was indeed after 1735 "first architect of the king", should have exercised no determining influence on the internal decoration of the Palace at Versailles, but have left the designing thereof to Verberckt and Rousseau.⁷²⁴

Note 724. In reply to my inquiry concerning this, P. de Nolhac stated to me, that he also conjectured, that Gabriel at least designed the principal arrangement of the decoration. (See Notes 549-551 and Art. 353).

The chief works of Gabriel are the following.

In Paris:-- the Hotel des Chambre des Comptes (1730), beside the Sainte Chapelle; the Hotels de Morey or de Biron and de Varangeville, as well as the College de Navarre. In Bordeaux:-- the Hotels de la Bourse and de la Douane, which were completed by his son in 1749. In Rennes:-- the Hotel-de-Ville, the Cour du Presidial and the Tour de l'Horloge. In Lyons:-- the Salle et la Chapelle des Etats. For Nantes, a design for beautifying the city; further the portals (facades ?) of the Cathedrals of Orleans and of La Rochelle; lastly the

Chateau S. Hubert near Rambouillet and the new buildings of the Abbey at S. Denis.

As his father Jacques II had built the Bridge Pont Royal at Paris, so Jacques Jules erected the Bridges of La Guillotiere in Lyons, of Poissy, Charenton, S. Maur, Pontoise, Ile-Adam, pont Saint-Maxence, Beaumont and Blois (1728). For the latter, he received a pension of 2000 livres.

A description of the course of his famous son Jacques-Ange Gabriel, whose Palaces on Place de la Concorde have already been mentioned (Art. 309), no longer belongs in the compass of this volume, since the tendency of his son already entirely pertains to the style of Louis XVI.

433. Germain Boffrand.

c. Germain Boffrand (born at Nantes May 7, 1667, died at Paris, Mar. 18, 1754) worked for three years with the sculptor Girardon, changed to architecture in 1685, and at first worked under his patron J. H. Mansart on the Orangery at Versailles, and on the supervision of the works of Place Vendome.

Of cheerful disposition, nephew of the poet Grimault, he himself composed pieces for the theatre, which were brought out by the Italian Comedy Theatre in Paris.

Of his works created in France, the following may be mentioned here.

1709, great changes in Hotel d'Ormesson, Rue S. Antoine, Paris.

1710 (?), internal restoration of Palace du Petit-Bourbon (called Petit-Luxemburg) for Princess of Conde; later a further change of the interior for Electress Anna (Princess Palatine).

1711, decoration of Hotel de Broglie.

1728, he became architect of the Hospital General at Paris and built for it in 1747 before Notre Dame, the former Hospital of Foundlings.

1733-1735, he constructed the well in Bicetre, 561 ft. deep.

1735 (not already in 1706), he began the famous decorations in Hotel de Soubise, now Archives Nationales in Paris. (Art. 360).

By Boffrand is further the decoration of the great chamber in the Palace of Justice at Paris; also the decoration of Hotel de Mesme, where Law later had his famous Bank Generale; finally, the decoration of Hotel de la Premiere Residence.

Lance also mentions the following works in Paris:-- Hotels de Guerchy, de Seignelay and de Brissac in Rue de Grenelle; de Montmorency, de Durat and de Voyer in Rue des Bons-Enfants; de Torcy and de Seignelay, both in Rue de Verneuil; de Tingry and Amelot; also the Houses of the painter Lebrun, Rue des Fosses-Saint-Victor, de Matran and of Prince Rohan in S. Ouen near Paris.

As "first engineer of bridges and roads of France", he built two bridges, one of stone in Sens, the other of wood in Montereau.

It is remarkable that Boffrand, one of the supporters of the style of Louis XV, is seen restoring the great Gothic rose window in the south transept of Notre Dame in Paris; I have seen his work, which was right good, but was removed by Viollet-le-Duc. He further restored in 1746 the Chapel of Church S. Esprit, the facade of Church de la Merci, and the chapel de Noailles in Notre Dame.

His designs for an opera house and for Place Louis XV, now de la Concorde, were not executed. His great work on architecture was published in 1745.⁷²⁵

Note 725. Boffrand, G. "Livre d'Architecture, containing the general principles of the art and the plans, elevations and sections of some buildings erected in France and in foreign countries". Paris. 1745.

Boffrand's practice in Lorraine was substantially the following. He became in 1766 first architect of duke Leopold and executed as such the following buildings.

In Nancy, the Palace Neuf, Cathedral, Hotels de Craon, de Gurel, Ferrari, de Vitrimant, de Luxcourt, de Custines and de la Monnaie. In Luneville, the Palace, the Pavilion du Treste, Palace of prince Carl, Abbey Church S. Remy, now Parish Church S. Jacques, and Hotel de Craon; Chateau S. Leopold in the vicinity is ascribed to him. Near Nancy he built the Chateaus Malgrange de Harroue and de Croisman or Craon; Lance also attributes the former to Here de Comy; near Ramberviller the Abbey d'Autrai. Further ascribed to him is Chateau Bugnerville in the Vosges.

Boffrand created abroad for the Elector of Bavaria the hunting Chateau Bouchefort in Belgium, whose erection was inter-

...in 1774 to erect the Palace Royal at Versailles, designed
by Hermann and modified by Robert de Cotte. 1778

Note 726. See Planck, Art. Beyrand. (After Dusseldorf, B.
The likewise worked for the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian-
Emmanuel, and for other German princes, and he executed a beau-
tiful fountain in the garden of Palace Favorite near Munich.
484. Gille Marie Odenbach.

This was Odenbach (1691-1751) - his
father was Odenbach-Johann Odenbach, "counsellor" to the Ki-
ng, naturalized from Göttingen in 1679. He was grand of J. P.
six years in Italy.

Langue mentions the following of his works.
1700, some of monuments to Versailles.
1700, Church Noviciate of Reformed Dominicans at Bonn.
1704, high altar of Church St. Germain-des-Prés at Paris, a
and high altar of Church St. Sulpice there.
1708, some of Marie-Anne des Guesnes in St. Benoît.

1710, chapel of St. Jean Noviciate in Cathedral of Metz.
1751, he was entrusted with the construction of the works
of the north transept.
Also by Odenbach's son; the small Göttingen at Montzenberg for

grand friend of France, and the enlargement of Hotel of Pier-
re in Paris, which was destroyed by fire in 1793.
one apartment and died.

486. Juste-Archie-Meissonnier.
e. Juste-Archie-Meissonnier (1698-1750), "architect
and first designer of the famous clock in the Hall of
the King at Versailles, which was finished, designed by
Meissonnier and his son, which was finished in 1735.
influenced the taste of the 18th century.

Meissonnier's very fine tendency was already mentioned in
Art. 870. Not as many statements concerning him are availab-
le as would be desirable. The great fountain and the pre-
sent clock in the Hall of the King at Versailles.

interrupted by the battle of Ramillies (1706). He was further called in 1724 to erect the Palace Royal at Würzburg, designed by Neumann and modified by Robert de Cotte. ⁷²⁶

Note 726. See Planat, *Art. Boffrand*. (After Dussieux, L. *Les Artistes Français à l'Étranger* etc. Paris. 1866).

He likewise worked for the Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian-Emanuel, and for other German princes, and he erected a beautiful fountain in the gardens of Palace Favorite near Mentz.

434. Gille Marie Oppenordt.

Gille Marie Oppenordt (also Oppenord, 1672-1742). His father was Cander-Johan Oppen Ord, "cabinet-maker" to the king, naturalized from Gueldres in 1679. He was pupil of J. H. Mansart, and in 1692 went to Rome as a pensioner, and remained six years in Italy.

Lance mentions the following of his works.

1700, Tomb of marchioness de Lenville.

1700, Church Noviciate of Reformed Dominicans at Rome.

1704, high altar of Church S. Germain-des-Pres at Paris, and high altar of Church S. Sulpice there.

1706, Tomb of Marie-Anne des Essars in S. Benoit.

1710, chapel of S. Jean Baptiste in Cathedral of Amiens.

1721, he was entrusted with the continuation of the works of Church S. Sulpice; he constructed the second order of the facade of the north transept.

Also by Oppenordt are; the small Chateau at Montmorency for Pierre Crozat and its orangery, the interior of Hotel of the Grand Prieur of France, and the enlargement of Hotel of Pierre Crozat in Rue Richelieu, wherein Oppenordt had a comfortable apartment and died.

435. Juste-Aurele-Meissonnier.

e. Juste-Aurele-Meissonnier (1693-1750), "architect and first designer of the chamber and cabinet of the king, was born at Turin. He was an architect, painter, designer of funeral ceremonies and goldsmith, also an artist, who chiefly influenced the taste of the 18th century.

Meissonnier's very free tendency was already mentioned in Art. 370. Not as many statements concerning him are available, as would be desirable. The chief sources must be the great work known as *Oeuvre de Meissonnier*.⁷²⁷ Destailleur also

The ship. First port examined under the direction of the au-

From the Russian, the Greeks and until the latter November, 1917, of the same people by J. A. McFarlane.

From the engravings of the "Oenotres", we have collected

...as have all the other countries...

17785, 8911, 9211, 9212, 9213, 9214, 9215, 9216, 9217, 9218, 9219, 9220, 9221, 9222, 9223, 9224, 9225, 9226, 9227, 9228, 9229, 9230, 9231, 9232, 9233, 9234, 9235, 9236, 9237, 9238, 9239, 9240, 9241, 9242, 9243, 9244, 9245, 9246, 9247, 9248, 9249, 9250, 9251, 9252, 9253, 9254, 9255, 9256, 9257, 9258, 9259, 9260, 9261, 9262, 9263, 9264, 9265, 9266, 9267, 9268, 9269, 9270, 9271, 9272, 9273, 9274, 9275, 9276, 9277, 9278, 9279, 9280, 9281, 9282, 9283, 9284, 9285, 9286, 9287, 9288, 9289, 9290, 9291, 9292, 9293, 9294, 9295, 9296, 9297, 9298, 9299, 9300, 9301, 9302, 9303, 9304, 9305, 9306, 9307, 9308, 9309, 9310, 9311, 9312, 9313, 9314, 9315, 9316, 9317, 9318, 9319, 9320, 9321, 9322, 9323, 9324, 9325, 9326, 9327, 9328, 9329, 9330, 9331, 9332, 9333, 9334, 9335, 9336, 9337, 9338, 9339, 9340, 9341, 9342, 9343, 9344, 9345, 9346, 9347, 9348, 9349, 9350, 9351, 9352, 9353, 9354, 9355, 9356, 9357, 9358, 9359, 9360, 9361, 9362, 9363, 9364, 9365, 9366, 9367, 9368, 9369, 9370, 9371, 9372, 9373, 9374, 9375, 9376, 9377, 9378, 9379, 9380, 9381, 9382, 9383, 9384, 9385, 9386, 9387, 9388, 9389, 9390, 9391, 9392, 9393, 9394, 9395, 9396, 9397, 9398, 9399, 9400, 9401, 9402, 9403, 9404, 9405, 9406, 9407, 9408, 9409, 9410, 9411, 9412, 9413, 9414, 9415, 9416, 9417, 9418, 9419, 9420, 9421, 9422, 9423, 9424, 9425, 9426, 9427, 9428, 9429, 9430, 9431, 9432, 9433, 9434, 9435, 9436, 9437, 9438, 9439, 9440, 9441, 9442, 9443, 9444, 9445, 9446, 9447, 9448, 9449, 9450, 9451, 9452, 9453, 9454, 9455, 9456, 9457, 9458, 9459, 9460, 9461, 9462, 9463, 9464, 9465, 9466, 9467, 9468, 9469, 9470, 9471, 9472, 9473, 9474, 9475, 9476, 9477, 9478, 9479, 9480, 9481, 9482, 9483, 9484, 9485, 9486, 9487, 9488, 9489, 9490, 9491, 9492, 9493, 9494, 9495, 9496, 9497, 9498, 9499, 9500, 9501, 9502, 9503, 9504, 9505, 9506, 9507, 9508, 9509, 9510, 9511, 9512, 9513, 9514, 9515, 9516, 9517, 9518, 9519, 9520, 9521, 9522, 9523, 9524, 9525, 9526, 9527, 9528, 9529, 9530, 9531, 9532, 9533, 9534, 9535, 9536, 9537, 9538, 9539, 9540, 9541, 9542, 9543, 9544, 9545, 9546, 9547, 9548, 9549, 9550, 9551, 9552, 9553, 9554, 9555, 9556, 9557, 9558, 9559, 9560, 9561, 9562, 9563, 9564, 9565, 9566, 9567, 9568, 9569, 9570, 9571, 9572, 9573, 9574, 9575, 9576, 9577, 9578, 9579, 9580, 9581, 9582, 9583, 9584, 9585, 9586, 9587, 9588, 9589, 9590, 9591, 9592, 9593, 9594, 9595, 9596, 9597, 9598, 9599, 9600, 9601, 9602, 9603, 9604, 9605, 9606, 9607, 9608, 9609, 9610, 9611, 9612, 9613, 9614, 9615, 9616, 9617, 9618, 9619, 9620, 9621, 9622, 9623, 9624, 9625, 9626, 9627, 9628, 9629, 9630, 9631, 9632, 9633, 9634, 9635, 9636, 9637, 9638, 9639, 9640, 9641, 9642, 9643, 9644, 9645, 9646, 9647, 9648, 9649, 9650, 9651, 9652, 9653, 9654, 9655, 9656, 9657, 9658, 9659, 9660, 9661, 9662, 9663, 9664, 9665, 9666, 9667, 9668, 9669, 9670, 9671, 9672, 9673, 9674, 9675, 9676, 9677, 9678, 9679, 9680, 9681, 9682, 9683, 9684, 9685, 9686, 9687, 9688, 9689, 9690, 9691, 9692, 9693, 9694, 9695, 9696, 9697, 9698, 9699, 9700, 9701, 9702, 9703, 9704, 9705, 9706, 9707, 9708, 9709, 9710, 9711, 9712, 9713, 9714, 9715, 9716, 9717, 9718, 9719, 9720, 9721, 9722, 9723, 9724, 9725, 9726, 9727, 9728, 9729, 9730, 9731, 9732, 9733, 9734, 9735, 9736, 9737, 9738, 9739, 9740, 9741, 9742, 9743, 9744, 9745, 9746, 9747, 9748, 9749, 9750, 9751, 9752, 9753, 9754, 9755, 9756, 9757, 9758, 9759, 9760, 9761, 9762, 9763, 9764, 9765, 9766, 9767, 9768, 9769, 9770, 9771, 9772, 9773, 9774, 9775, 9776, 9777, 9778, 9779, 9780, 9781, 9782, 9783, 9784, 9785, 9786, 9787, 9788, 9789, 9790, 9791, 9792, 9793, 9794, 9795, 9796, 9797, 9798, 9799, 9800, 9801, 9802, 9803, 9804, 9805, 9806, 9807, 9808, 9809, 9810, 9811, 9812, 9813, 9814, 9815, 9816, 9817, 9818, 9819, 9820, 9821, 9822, 9823, 9824, 9825, 9826, 9827, 9828, 9829, 9830, 9831, 9832, 9833, 9834, 9835, 9836, 9837, 9838, 9839, 9840, 9841, 9842, 9843, 9844, 9845, 9846, 9847, 9848, 9849, 9850, 9851, 9852, 9853, 9854, 9855, 9856, 9857, 9858, 9859, 9860, 9861, 9862, 9863, 9864, 9865, 9866, 9867, 9868, 9869, 9870, 9871, 9872, 9873, 9874, 9875, 9876, 9877, 9878, 9879, 9880, 9881, 9882, 9883, 9884, 9885, 9886, 9887, 9888, 9889, 9890, 9

...of the kind (Pl. 12).

1736, Retirement bill for M. the Duke, (91, 92).

1787. Book of Coleridge's work for the church. (91. 34.)

• (84 .19) .Ensic? To nrcsc

(07) (11) Large set of about 1500

King. (51. 50).

17284. Woodruff of M. the duke of Northampton. (9) (24).

(29.19) 50

1987. Project was for W. the amount of 3. Advice for the

and conclusions concerning his design or work.

(15. 88. 07. 98)

1871. (21. 54. 07. 16).

175471 *Environ Monit Assess* 1996, 40: 1-12. **Environ Monit Assess** 1996; 40: 1-12.

mentions a second work,⁷²⁸ a comparison of various monuments.

Note 727. Oeuvre de Just-Aurele-Meissonnier, painter, sculptor, architect etc.; designer of the chamber and cabinet of the king. First part executed under the direction of the author. Paris. 1723-1735. (About).

Note 728. Parallele Generale des Edifices considerable, from the Egyptians, the Greeks and until the later Moderns, drawn at the same scale by J. A. Meissonnier.

From the engravings of his "Oeuvres", we have collected here as data all the plates containing dates.

1728, Chandeliers of carved silver. (Pl. 6).

1735, Chronological Chart of the king. (Pl. 10).

1735, Garden sledge of the first dowager queen. (Pl. 16).

1725, Golden sword guards for the wedding presents at the marriage of the king. (Pl. 18).

1723, Refreshment pail for M. the duke. (Pl. 21).

1727. Book of goldsmith's work for the church. (Pl. 34).

1734. Cabinet of M. count Bielenski, grand marshal of the crown of Poland. (Pl. 43).

1735. Sofa for the same. (Pl. 50).

1730. Project for the angle of a portable salon for the king. (Pl. 96).

1724. Wind dial of M. the duke of Mortimart. (Pl. 54).

1733. Project for a tomb built for M. the president of Dijon. (Pl. 99).

1727. Project made for M. the curate of S. Sulpice for the chapel of the Virgin. (Pl. 57).

1726. Project of the portal of Church S. Sulpice. (Pl. 61).

1735. Project of a great table epergne and of two dishes executed for my lord duke of Kinston. (Pl. 61).

We likewise collect the data from the engravings, that afford conclusions concerning his designs or works.

House of Sieur Brethous in Bayonne. (Pls. 3-5 and 1-26).

Project of salon of princess Satorinski in Poland. (Pl. 40).

Cabinet of M. count Bielinski (in Poland), executed in 1734. (Pl. 43, No. 87).

Project of doorway of apartment for Mme. baroness de Besenval. (Pl. 48, No. 91).

Project of ceiling of a house in Rue de Rochechouart. (Pl. 57).

[illegible]

Order (1934-1935), was likewise established.

To achieve a balanced view and with the aim of publishing a series of books on aesthetics and especially on decoration. Generally, I have distinguished the former as selected examples of the style of Louis XV, and the latter as still more important. He gives us the history of the art of the XVIII century in France, and the history of the art of the XVIII century in France.

red in Reine Universität der Apts. 1850.
 1850. -- Bericht's work appa-

the locations of the two apartments of Mr. the Dauphin, under
Note 780. Heuvel des Teres given by the city of Paris on
Paris and given the location in the city records of the
located the city records of the city records of the city
vicinity, as erected three novels and country houses. His
of St. Mary in Church St. Geneva (fig. 65); in Geneva and the
in Paris records of the city records of the city records of the
located in the city records of the city records of the city records of the
8. Francois II Bloniel (born in 1688 at Rouen), not
487. Francois II Bloniel.

Memorial of marble and bronze for M. baron de Besenval, executed in Church S. Sulpice at Paris. (Pl. 56, No. 100).

Various designs of altars for Church S. Aignan at Orleans, Church S. Len at Paris, and Church S. Sulpice there.

Meissonnier's fanciful composition for a grotto (Fig. 66) was previously described. Another composition (No. 29 of his "Oeuvre") is yet more bizarre if possible, but combined throughout with great skill.

436. Francois de Cuvillies.

f. Francois de Cuvillies (1698-1768) from Soissons, was pupil of Robert de Cotte. On the recommendation of the latter, he was appointed in 1725 by the court in Munich as an assistant architect, and in 1738 as first architect of the Elector, in 1745 becoming architect of the emperor Charles VII.

Cuvillies was an artist of important talents, who appears to have contributed to not only spreading, but also to developing the style of Louis XV in Germany, toward the Rocaille and Rococo tendencies. His works in Nymphenburg have already been referred to (Art. 365). He seems to have been employed to a great extent in Bavaria, where his son, Francois the Younger (1734-1805), was likewise established.

Cuvillies by himself and with his son published a series of works on architecture and especially on decoration. Destailleur designates the former as perfected examples of the style of Louis XV, and the latter as still more important. He gives the contents of them on the basis of the splendid work of Berard.⁷²⁹ These works contained more than 700 plates.

Note 729. See Destailleur. p. 239. -- Berard's work appeared in *Revue Universelle des Arts*. 1859.

437. Francois II Blondel.

g. Francois II Blondel (born in 1683 at Rouen), not related to Francois I, built there the Hotel des Consuls, then in Paris among other works the altar canopy of the chapel of S. Mary in Church S. Sauveur (Fig. 65); in Geneva and its vicinity, he erected three hotels and country houses. His designs for the festivals at the two marriages of the Dauphin (1743 and 1747) are contained in the work mentioned below.⁷³⁰

Note 730. *Recueil des Fetes* given by the city of Paris on the occasions of the two marriages of Mgr. the Dauphin, exec-

extracted from the designs of St. Bernard, Paris.
Some believe that Francis II and Jean Francis Blondel,
the architect of the Louvre, were the same person.

Note 181. See Blondel, Vol. 2, p. 285.

182. Jacques Francis Blondel.

183. Jacques Francis Blondel (1704-1774), nephew of
the second Francis, likewise born at Rouen, but died 1774
when in Paris and later in Germany and Switzerland. He had been
in 1752 in Paris an architectural school, and he became in
1756 professor at the Royal Academy of Architecture. Of his
numerous publications is especially to be mentioned his "Arch-
itecture des Français" (1774), which has remained famous. It
contains for this volume.

184. Jacques Francis Blondel.

185. Jean-Nicolas Servandoni (1705 or 6 - 1788) gave a
himself out for a Franciscan, but he must himself have been
of the French nation, and he was a Frenchman.
There between Lyons and Italy as a companion.
Note 182. He wrote it with "y" and not with "i" as it is.

This independent master must have spent several years in
Italy in his youth, and he studied painting under the second
sculptor painter J. Banti and architect under Giovanni Gio-
seppe Rossi. He came to France about 1754 and for 18 years
lived in Paris. He was received into the Academy of Painting in the
last year. In the year 1782 he received the first prize in
competition for the facade of church St. Maurice (1782).
It was completed up to the two now different towers. Detail-
work in the sense of the so-called style of Louis XVI ag-
gravated the first tendency of the style of Louis XV, in the
named work, or the reception of the chapel of St. Maria and
of the organ screen of the same church. He traveled much and
superintended the festivals at many European courts. In the
year 1765, there was conferred on him by the elector of Sax-
ony, the title of royal architect and decorator.
The triumphal arch, that he erected in 1764 in Paris, as

executed from the designs of Fr. Blondel. Paris.

Some believe that Francois II and Jean Francois Blondel, a apparently father of Jacques Francois, might be the same person. 731

Note 731. See Planat. Vol. 2. p. 355.

438. Jacques Francois Blondel.

h. Jacques Francois Blondel (1705-1774), nephew of t the second Francois, likewise born at Rouen, built after 1764 much in Metz and later in Cambray and Strasburg. He had opened in 1739 in Paris an architectural school, and he became in 1756 professor at the Royal Academy of Architecture. Of his numerous publications is especially to be mentioned his "Architecture Francoise" (1752), which has furnished several illustrations for this volume.

439. Jean-Nicolas Servandoni.

i. Jean-Nicolas servandoni (1695 or 6 - 1766) gave h himself out for a Florentine, but he must himself have assumed this Italian sounding name.⁷³² His father forwarded travelers between Lyons and Italy as a coachman.

Note 732. He wrote it with "y" and not with "i" as it is often found.

This independent master must have spent several years in I Italy in his youth, and he studied painting under the architectural painter J. Panini and architecture under Giovanni Giuseppe Rossi. He came to France about 1724 and for 18 years (after 1731) superintended the decorations of the Paris Opera House. He was received into the Academy of Painting in the latter year. In the year 1732 he received the first prize in competition for the facade of Church S. Sulpice (Fig. 173). It was completed up to the two now different towers. Destailleur considers Servandoni as the one, who began the strong r reaction in the sense of the so-called style of Louis XVI against the free tendency of the style of Louis XV, by the last named work, by the decoration of the chapel of S. Maria and of the organ screen of the same church. He traveled much and superintended the festivals at many European courts. In the year 1755, there was conferred on him by the elector of Saxony, the title of royal architect and decorator.

The Triumphal Arch, tha he erected in 1754 in Paris, as

Lance states, was a decoration for the laying of the corner stone of the Place before S. Sulpice. The opening was shaped like the Palladio motive, beneath which stood the statue of Louis XV, and showed a semicircular doubled portico; before each arch stood two detached columns, crowned by goddesses of fame. An engraving by the architect Patte represents the entire decoration; it is kept in the Louis XVI style.

Servandony at least sometimes had a passionate character, (1631), and he must have not at all understood how to manage properly with many. In spite of earning great sums, he appears to have died in poverty.⁷³³

Note 733. *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1888. p. 262. Also see Lance.

Among his works, Lance further mentions:--

The main gateway of Hospital de l'Enfant Jesus, Rue de Vaugirard; a circular chapel in Hotel de la Live, both at Paris; the Church at Coulanges-la-Vineuse in Burgundy; the high altars of the Cathedral of Sens and of Carthusian Church at Lyons; a well with half dome in the cloister of S. Choix-de-la-Bretonnerie at Paris; in Vaugirard the "country house" of the priests of S. Sulpice, and the stairway in Hotel d'Auvergne at Paris.

B. Second Group of Masters.

440. Other masters in France.

k. L'Assurance (Cailleteau, called "Assurance", died 1714) was at first draftsman with J. H. Mansart and Robert de Cotte, who derived profit from him, if the Memoirs of S. Simon may be believed. From 1799 he belonged to the Academy.

He built in Paris the Hotels de Montmorency (Rue Montmartre), de Rothelin (Rue de Varennes), de Rivie (Rue Saint-Marc-Feyd-eau, 1704), d'Auvergne (Rue S. Dominique-S. Germain, 1708), de Bethune (same street), de Chatillon, de Richelieu (Rue de Grenelle-S. Germain), de Montbazou (Rue Saint-Honore), and de N Noailles (Rue de Luxemburg); also with Girardin Palace Bourbon and with Aubert the Hotel de Lassay.

l. L'Assurance (Jean Cailleteau, called "Assurance", died 1755), son of the preceding, was in 1716 pensioner in Rome, and entered the Academy in 1723; in the same year he became comptroller of Chateau Marly and in 1749 architect in o

opportunity to the king, controller of the buildings of Fontaine-

bleau.

His chief works are:-- Castle Bellevue for M. de Fontaine-

bleau, 1750-1751; Hotel de la Couronne, 1751-1752; Hotel de la

Couronne, 1752-1753; Hotel de la Couronne, 1753-1754; Hotel de la

Couronne, 1754-1755; Hotel de la Couronne, 1755-1756; Hotel de la

Couronne, 1756-1757; Hotel de la Couronne, 1757-1758; Hotel de la

Couronne, 1758-1759; Hotel de la Couronne, 1759-1760; Hotel de la

Couronne, 1760-1761.

After 1761 he was in 1762 controller of the buildings of

Fontainebleau and Fontainebleau.

1761-1762.

n. The Fontainebleau (1761-1762), controller and architect-

of, went in 1762 to Rome as pensioner, where he remained in

1763. He designed and built the beautiful fountain of the

Fontainebleau at Paris, whose corner stone was laid in

1764.

n. The Fontainebleau, from 1764, built about 1760 the

Fontainebleau of the Capital in Fontainebleau.

c. Fontainebleau (1764-1765) is chiefly known on account

of his projects for the palace at Fontainebleau. The last

one was completed in 1765. He was also in 1765 and 1766, by

the king, controller of the buildings of Fontainebleau and

Fontainebleau, and the buildings which then belonged to

the king, and the buildings of the king. He also executed

the Hotel de Fontainebleau in the Fontainebleau at Paris.

c. Fontainebleau built in 1766 in Rome the Hotel de

Fontainebleau and the Hotel de Fontainebleau, also in 1767

the Hotel de Fontainebleau and the Hotel de Fontainebleau.

1766-1767.

1767-1768.

1768-1769.

1769-1770.

1770-1771.

1771-1772.

1772-1773.

1773-1774.

1774-1775.

1775-1776.

1776-1777.

1777-1778.

1778-1779.

ordinary to the king, comproller of the buildings of Fontainebleau.

His chief works are:-- Chateau Bellevue for Mme. Pompadour (begun June 30, 1748, completed Nov. 1750); Hotel des Reservoirs at Versailles; further, works in the Chateaus La Celle near S. Cloud, Crecy near Dreux, Compiègne, and in Hotel d'Evreux, the later Palace Elysee; lastly, Hotels de Luxemburg (Rue S. Marc), de Sens (Rue de Grenelle-S-Germain), and Mole (same street).

Pierre L'assurance was in 1755 comptroller of Chateaus S. G Germain and Monceaux.

441. Other Masters.

m. Edme Bouchardon (1698-1762), sculptor and architect, went in 1722 to Rome as pensioner, where he remained 10 years. He designed and built the beautiful Fountain of Rue-Grenelle-S-Germain at Paris, whose corner stone was laid in 1739.

n. Guillaume Camas, from Angers, built about 1750 the facade of the Capitol in Toulouse.

o. Delamire (bied 1745) is chiefly known on account of his practice for the prince de Soubise in Paris. The latter had purchased in 1697 Hotels de Laval and de Chaume, to which Delamaire built the present court with porticos of the Archives National, and the building which then belonged to the adjacent Hotels de Soubise and de Rohan. He also erected the Hotel de Pompadour in Rue de Grenelle-S-Germain at Paris.

p. Garobeare built in 1690 in Rodez the Great Seminary and the portal of the Carthusian Monastery, also in Vabres the Palace archbishop and the organ screen.

q. Jean-Charles Garnier d(Isle (1697-1745) was "comptroller general of the buildings of the king". In 1730 he became "designer of plants and parterres of the gardens of the king" in place of his father-in-law Charles Desgots. (Resigned). He designed the garden of Chateau Crecy near Dreux and in part that of Chateau Bellevue near Meudon.

r. Alexandre Le Blond (1679-1719) built in Paris in 1706 in Rue d'Enfer a Hotel for the Carthusians, and after 1708 Hotel de Clermont (Rue de Varennes). He wrote additions to D'Aviler's "Cours d'Architecture", went in 1716 to S. Petersburg as first architect to Peter the Great, where he died

• 1171 112 11.11 11.11 11.11 11.11

after various works even in 1719.

s. Jean Hardouin Mansart de Jouy (born 1700) was son of Jacques I Hardouin Mansart and grandson of Jules, the famous architect of Louis XIV. He began in 1754 the facade of S. Eustache at Paris. (Fig. 175).

t. Jacques II Hardouin Mansart de Sagonne (1703-1776) was the younger brother of Mansart de Jouy. He became in 1742 architect of the king and built the Cathedral S. Louis at Versailles, completed in 1754.

u. A. M. Lecarpentier from Rouen (1709-1773) built numerous private hotels in Paris and designed grand plans for the Hotel-de-Ville of Rouen, begun in 1757, but never carried further.

v. Julien David Lewy (1728-1803) is the author of the work criticised by Stuart and Revett, *Les Ruines des plus beaux Monuments de Grece.* (Paris. 1758).

w. Ferdinand de la Monce (1678-1753) was born in Munich, where his father Paul was architect and painter of the Elector of Bavaria, studied in France and Italy, and in 1871 settled in Lyons, where he built much. He drew the plates for the work, *"Essais sur l'Histoire des Sciences, des Belles-lettres et des Arts"*, and those for the *"Description de la Chapelle des Invalids a Paris"*.

x. Dominique Pineau (born 1718, still living in 1758) was architect and sculptor, and was born at Petersburg, where his father was sculptor to the Czar. In D'Aviler's *"Cours d'Architecture"*, edition of 1750, it is stated that he had returned "some years" previously. For the latter work, he drew plates 59 c and 59 d. He must be one of the masters, who contributed to the development of the Rococo tendency, and took the place of Le Blond.⁷³⁴

Note 734. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francois*. 1878. p. 14.

In Paris he decorated Hotels de Villeroy, de Donroy, de Mazarin, de Troudaine, and in the vicinity of Paris, the Chateau of Prince Isanguien in Suresnes, as well as a House at Asnieres. He worked on the chapel of S. Maria in Cathedral Notre Dame de Nazareth, and with Mansart de Sagonne on the Cathedral S. Louis at Versailles. There is a work by him on table=

1911, and another on Lincolns, completed in 1912.

7. De Gaze became in 1701 proprietor of the town.

8. Gaze became in 1701 proprietor of the town, and in 1713 was
engineer and commander of the militia there, as well as
in Warly.

9. Gaze became in 1701 proprietor of the town, and in 1713 was

engineer and commander of the militia there, as well as
in Warly.

10. Gaze became in 1701 proprietor of the town, and in 1713 was
engineer and commander of the militia there, as well as
in Warly.

11. Gaze became in 1701 proprietor of the town, and in 1713 was

engineer and commander of the militia there, as well as
in Warly.

12. Gaze became in 1701 proprietor of the town, and in 1713 was

engineer and commander of the militia there, as well as

in Warly.

13. Gaze became in 1701 proprietor of the town, and in 1713 was

engineer and commander of the militia there, as well as

in Warly.

14. Gaze became in 1701 proprietor of the town, and in 1713 was

engineer and commander of the militia there, as well as

in Warly.

15. Gaze became in 1701 proprietor of the town, and in 1713 was

engineer and commander of the militia there, as well as

in Warly.

legs, and another on fireplaces, canopies etc. appeared in 1756.

y. De Ruze became in 1701 comptroller of the royad buildings at S. Germain-en-Laye, and in 1723 for 10 years was engineer and comptroller of the buildings there, as well as in Marly.

z. Claude Simon, architect of the king, executed in 1701 the bell tower of the Hotel-de-Ville at Lyons from the design of Robert de Cotte.

aa. Guillaume de Tremblaye, a friar of Abbey S. Etienne at Caen, erected in 1702-1724 the buildings of the "Conventual House" of the Abbey, and showed himself there as a good architect. The buildings of the Abbey of S. Trinite in Caen and those of the Abbey S. Denis (now School of the Legion of Honor) are likewise attributed to him.

bb. There may also be found in Lauce the following a architects of this time, whose names are alone known:-- Jean Carpentier, Jean P. de France, Simonnet, Tanneveau or Tannerot, Nicolas d'Ulin, De Vigny, Vilwys and Volard.

C. Architects in Lorraine.

In Lorraine, then separated from France, there are found employed during the period in question the following masters in addition to Boffrand. (Art. 433).

442. Nicolas Pierson.

cc. Nicolas Pierson (born 1692) was a Premonstrant monk, superintended the building of the Palace of the bishop at Toul, Completed the Premonstrant Church in Pont-a-Mousson, and executed the Church S. Marie there. He built a wing and the towers of Monastery Etival, the Church of Bougival in Lorraine and the facade with two towers of the Church of Salival. He prepared the plans for the Abbey Jand'hours, that his pupil friar Arnold erected, and for a country house, which the duke of Lorraine desired to build near Pont-a-Mousson.

dd. Jean Nicolas Jenneson from Nancy, architect of duke Francis III of Lorraine, worked in 1729 on the Palace d Ducal. He built and completed in 1731 Church S. Sebastian at Nancy, the Ghapel S. Pierre at his own cost, also various private houses.

ee. Emmanuel Here de Corny (1705-1763) developed from

5. Materials employed in the laboratory.

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Nancy a very great architectural practice in the service of king Stanislaus, whose councillor and first architect he became in 1750. He published several works, among them in 1753 his "Plans et Elevations de la Place Royale de Nancy". He was ennobled in 1751 by the king of Poland, and received from Louis XV the order of S. Michel.

His more important architectural creations are the following:-

In Lunéville, the towers and organ with its screen of Church S. Remy; in Nancy, Church de Bon Secours and the Monastery des Minimes, as well as the House de la Charite in Rue S. Catherine; further in the domain of secular architecture in Nancy, the eight buildings and the Triumphal Arch on Place Royale, the buildings and porticos around Place Carriere with the Triumphal Arch; the Hotels of Place Stanislas and the Fountain; then Hotels Consulaire and de la Bourse, as well as a part of the Cour d'Appel. He built many things in the gardens of the Chateaus at Lunéville and Commercy, in the latter being the Pavilion Royale at the end of the canal; also the Chateau de la Malgrange and the gallery of Chateau d'Einville.

5. Masters employed in the Provinces.

443. Sources.

As a supplement to the notices of different masters, we may indicate some sources in which may be found further information concerning the masters employed outside Paris.

For the number of masters in Lyons, see Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais, 1882, p. 53; among 5000 names of artists and tradesmen, more than 1200 fall in the 15 th century, among the latter being 105 master masons or masons. For the sculptors in that city in the 16 th to 18 th centuries, see the same. 1887. P. 289.

For the artists in Provence (Artistes Provençaux) in the period from 1670 to 1722, see Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais, 1888, p. 257, and 1890, p. 152-216; in the period from 1688 to 1716, do. 1891, p. 251; in the time of 1606-1650, do. 1892, p. 97; for other artists from 1702-1728, do. 1892, p. 156; for the masters during the time of 1671-1763, do. 1892, p. 284; in the time of 1684-1785, do. 1894, p. 30.

For the artists in Toulon, see the lists of them in Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Francais, 1894, p. 193-358; 1887, p. 49; 1888, p. 145; 1889, p. 303.

For the artists in Bordeaux during the period from 1841 to 1845, Guillevy's various contributions in the *Revue* are given in *L'Art Français*, 1878, p. 137.

Guillevy's art and career in Bordeaux in the period from 1845 to 1850, many interesting details are found in the *Revue* and *Revue des Beaux-Arts*, 1851, p. 100-101.

Yet the artist is twice in the *Revue* in the period from 1851 to 1855 as well as in earlier times, and some of his work is already mentioned in *L'Art Français*, p. 137, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

We then have to discuss in this connection any mention of the works of French artists in foreign countries. It has been shown on the one hand, that their number is too great, and on the other, that they are too numerous to be mentioned.

The French are accustomed to refer in this matter to the already mentioned work of Guizot; ⁷⁸⁵ *France also contains* many such notices. ⁷⁸⁶ The statements of other authors must nevertheless be accepted with discretion.

Recherches sur leur œuvre et leur influence en Europe. 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000.

Note 786. *L'Art Français*, p. XVII-XXI.

Guillevy emphasizes that even in the 2nd edition of the work of Guizot, there is a great lack of authentic documents gathered from the sources. In the latter respect, the documents given by Guillevy ⁷⁸⁷ as coming from the royal collections, are established data and prove, as he says, the external and influence of French art in all Europe from the middle of the 16th century until the present time. Yet there are among the 85 artists, concerning whom he makes statements, a number who are not known to him as having been in France themselves.

Note 787. *See Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 1876, p. 1-67.

For the artists in Bordeaux during the period from 1341 to 1637, Guiffrey makes various communications in *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 1872, p. 127.

Concerning the art works at Bourges in the period from 1230 to 1792, many interesting details may be found in the same source, 1880-1881, p. 209-292.

For the artists in Troyes in the 14th and 15th centuries, as well as in earlier times, the same source contains many statements; 1884-1885, p. 337; 1887, p. 65, 97, 147. Among the sculptors working there in the 15th century were many Flemings and several Germans.

6. French masters abroad.

444. Sources.

We then have to disclaim in this connection any mention of the works of French architects in foreign countries. It has been shown on the one hand, that their number is too great, and on the other, we could examine too slightly the data preserved concerning them.

The French are accustomed to refer in this matter to the already mentioned work of Dussieux;⁷³⁵ *Lance* also contains many such notices.⁷³⁶ The statements of both authors must nevertheless be accepted with discretion.

Note 735. Dussieux, L. *Les Artistes Français à l'Etranger*; "Researches on their works and their influence in Europe. Paris. 1856.

Note 736. *Lance*. p. XVIII-XXI.

Guiffrey emphasizes that even in the 3rd edition of the work of Dussieux, there is a great lack of authentic documents gathered from the sources. In the latter respect, the documents given by Guiffrey⁷³⁷ as coming from the royal contracts, are established data and prove, as he says, the extension and influence of French art in all Europe from the middle of the 16th century until the present time. Yet there are among the 85 artists, concerning whom he makes statements, evidently many, who went abroad in order to further train themselves.

Note 737. See *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1878. p. 1-87.

Guiffrey's statements extend from 1693 to 1792. The purpos-

purposes of travel are very diverse, as well as the length of time, for which the artists were permitted to travel:-- for one 3 months, for others a year, and for many 3 years. For some it is simply "to travel" or "to travel and cultivate his talents". Belleville in 1786 was sent to England and Holland for two months "to develop himself". Bellisard was sent to Spain in 1790 "to draw the Roman and Arabian monuments". Antoine, "architect of the king and belonging to his Academy", was sent to Italy in 1777 "to acquire the new knowledge".

Of Roumier, who went to Italy, it was said in 1788, "to obtain there the light, that he may be lacking in the fine arts", and to be able to perfect himself therein as he may be able".

Oppenordt, "cabinet-maker of the king", was sent in 1694 to Notre Dame of Loreto. It was entirely different with Le Blond (1716), "architect to his majesty the Czar;" he went to Russia with his family and workmen of all kinds, 45 persons in all.

Finally, we may refer to the work mentioned below.⁷³⁸

Note 738. Volabreque, A. L'Art Français en Allemagne. Report on a mission etc. 1895. Paris.

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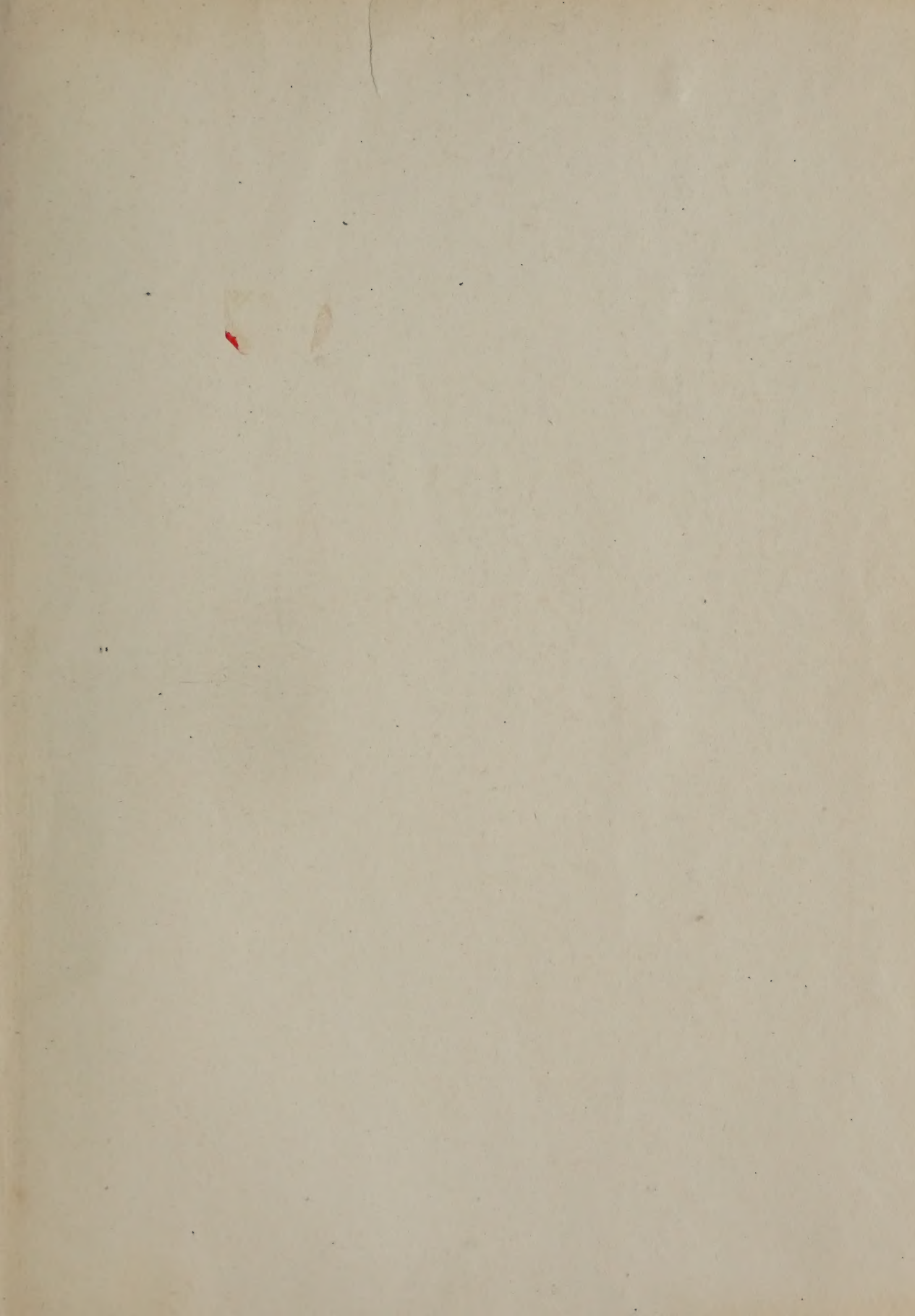
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